1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 , FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28 bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

/Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally, There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

/138 cont./

177 Since contact with the Whites was established, wars have
721 apparently declined considerably, but even today they exact a decidedly heavy toll.

22 The Auin is at the lowest stage of human development; he is exclusively a collector and hunter.

133 This way of life is dictated to him by the nature of his en-
137 vironment. This part of the Kalahari, where the watering places
182 are sometimes 100 kilometers apart and very limited in number, does not permit livestock raising, especially also since the tschama [sometimes spelled tsama, a kind of melon] enjoyed by the cattle is comparatively rare.

133 In the Auin region the plain dominates the landscape. Primary rocks rise up here and there only along the river banks. So-called dunes give the landscape a gently hilly character, especially in the vicinity of the rivers (dry river beds which carry
137 water only after violent rains). The ground cover alternates between grass, shrub, and tree steppe and dense undergrowth. The
132 amount of precipitation is very small; the lack of sufficient statistical data makes it impossible to give a more precise estimate.

B. Dwellings and Furnishings

342 The typical form of the dwelling is the windscreen, in other words, the most primitive form of human habitation, which scarcely deserves the designation "hut." Its construction is completed in a few minutes. A few twigs are stuck loosely into the ground at the thicker end in a semicircle and propped against each other at the branching end. I have never seen the supports firmly fastened to one another, although I have examined several hundred huts. Grass is thrown on the framework, and the construction is finished. During the dry season the structures are usually built even more hastily and sometimes consist merely of a few bundles of grass that have been thrown loosely between the twigs of a living bush. The entire structure is often scarcely a meter high and has no roof. It is thus a genuine windscreen, intended to protect its inhabitants from drafts while they are lying down.

If the settlement remains at a particular place for only a few days, the people content themselves with the shadow of some

/141 cont./

302 Men and boys do not use this cosmetic, nor do old women, but only young women and girls.

The mixture is applied in circles on the cheeks (see Photo. 20, woman farthest to the left) but it is also rubbed on the body in any other place possible, such as on the arms or belly. Frequently the entire body is greased with it.

Among men a kind of black grease is used. This has "a pleasant odor," at least according to Bushman notions. It is [756] manufactured by the "doctor." The men smear it under and on the nose. It is questionable whether it is more a means of beautification or of enjoyment.

304 All male Auin have a green line over the root of the nose, and usually also a crossbar under and at right angles to it. The crossbar is usually not colored (cf. Fig. 4).

Both lines consist of innumerable small transverse cuts. There are almost always two to four deep, especially conspicuous scars in the longer line. The length of the longitudinal line is usually from 2.5 to 3.5 centimeters, and that of the crossbar from one to 1.5 centimeters. Sometimes the longitudinal line is considerably longer and extends to the hairline. In the case of one Auin about 20 years old, no forehead tattoo was observed. In answer to questioning he replied that "it would be done later." On the other hand, I found a forehead tattoo on a quite undeveloped girl who [881] was at most eight years old. Hence it would seem that the tattoo is not connected with sexual maturity, an impression which the Auin themselves confirmed. One woman had two parallel longitudinal lines; another had two lines on each cheek, which in size and execution were like the vertical forehead line. Both were Auin by birth; in other words, they had not married into the tribe.

[177] According to the statements of the Auin, the forehead tattoo was copied from the Betschuana.

The forehead tattoo is called gi. Evidently no special significance is attached to it. Incidentally, I have seen the same tattoo among all the other Bushmen tribes. [Fig. 4 appears here.]

As a tool for making the countless little transverse incisions [412] that constitute the forehead tattoo, any sharpened little piece of iron may be used. I was unable to determine the pigment used to produce the green color, which is indelible.

/145 cont./

224 The main method of hunting is to stalk the game with bow and poisoned arrow. It is unnecessary, I believe, to emphasize that the Auin, like every Bushman, is an unsurpassed master of this art. He usually shoots at a distance of only a few paces. This manner of hunting is applicable to almost every type of game.

In the following I shall describe how the Auin customarily kill the main types of game. I have omitted stalking in those cases where it is naturally also a secondary method of hunting.

Gemsbok and wildebeest. The Bushman stays on the track for days on end and does not give the animal any rest. Finally he hunts it down to finish it off. A large tree branch with many twigs is thrust between the gemsbok's horns. While the gemsbok tries to rid itself of the branch, the Bushman severs its posterior flexing sinews or throws his spear at its shoulder blade.

Overtaking a gemsbok on foot sounds very much like a hunter's exaggeration, but the physiological explanation is that the Bushman simply does not allow the animal any rest for digestion and ruminating. After several hours an inflammation of the stomach sets in, which makes the animal almost incapable of movement.

The other large animals, such as the giraffe, eland, hartebeest, ostrich, and the springbok, cannot be approached in this way, and for them the Bushman confines himself to stalking. The small /146/ bucks can only be finished off when they are mired in wet ground.

[223] Guinea fowl are stealthily approached and killed by stones or a stick thrown at them.

The aardvark is dug out. The Bushman, however, tackles this laborious job only if the aardvark cannot go too deep, in other words, if it is suspected that rocky subsoil lies below the sand. For this purpose he uses a spade (obtained from the Whites) [177] which is usually the common property of the settlement. How he could accomplish it without a spade is unclear to me, since the aardvark digs about as rapidly as a practiced workman with a spade.

The porcupine and the anteater are likewise dug out.

Hares are hunted by throwing sticks at them. Hunting them, however, is said to be only rarely successful. Usually a small

/149 cont./

249 The Auin have copied this procedure[1] from the Bergdamara of
[177] Oas.
[273] The process of fermentation is unknown.

[1] [i.e., of growing hemp.-Analyst]

K. Toys, Games, Sport

524 Little bows and arrows serve as children's toys.

A Chinese puzzle game is played by young and old, men and women alike. I have chosen the above designation because of the nature of the game.

The partners sit opposite each other in a crouch.

Both tap their thighs with both hands in rhythmic alternation and at the same time murmur meaningless inarticulate sounds.

One partner then suddenly extends his right or left hand toward the other or makes some other kind of motion with his hand. The point, now, is that the opponent must immediately extend the same hand or respond to the given motion with a similar one; in short, he must not allow himself to be confused. [Fig. 11 appears here.]

If, for instance, the opponent motions with the wrong hand or makes any other mistake, his partner very briefly signals his advantage by making a throwing motion with his hand or by striking his right index finger on his left fist (intended to signify: "I am breaking his, that is, the opponent's, head in two"). The game is not interrupted by these rapid signals.

/150/ The entire game is played at a fairly rapid speed.

Sometimes several men sit across from one another and take turns in the matches. Even little boys take part in the game of the adults.

[171] The Herero and Bergdamara play a similar game. The Auin, however, maintain that it is an original Bushman game.

Prizes are not awarded. They play purely for the "glory."

525 Game of chance: this bears great resemblance to the Chinese puzzle game, except that the participants also tap the ground with their knees. The "killing," that is, defeat of the opponent, is indicated by a loud exclamation without interrupting the progress of the game. The stakes (for instance, tobacco, food)

/150 cont./

526 there is a good supply of food, in other words, only during the crop season (rainy season). Sometimes, also, a heap of sand about one and a half meters high is piled up and one must throw over it.

The game is played for hours by boys and men with great shouts of joy.

[171] [177] This sport is likewise practiced by the Kaffir and Herero. The Auin state that it is not an original Bushman game.

Wrestling (see Photo. 34). This seems to have a somewhat more serious character, since the victor deals severely with the loser and has nothing to do with him for a long time. Nonetheless, the Bushmen designate it as a game.

Shooting with bow and arrow (unpoisoned arrow tip toward the front). The target is a tschama or any other soft object, in order to spare the arrow. One by one, the competitors shoot from the same place. The winner receives a prize (food, a knife, or the like).

Spear throwing. The target (tschama) is placed on a stick planted in the ground.

At a distance of 20 meters, only one throw out of 30, performed by six men, hit the target.

The target was an insert from a flour box.

Prizes are offered.

Riding (see Photo. 35). Two men form a "horse," the third "rides." (Gabi, "to ride.")

[i.e., of stick throwing.-Analyst]

L. Music

534 Musical bows of various sizes made of "rosinkis wood" with animal tendons. The striker is made of any kind of wood.

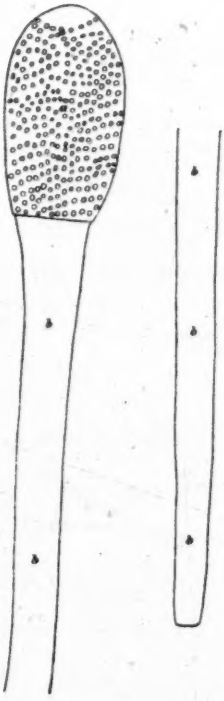
I have a suspicion that the two Auin in Photograph 38 cheated a bit, because one of them has a shooting bow while the other has taken up any old stick. It is likely that just at that moment they had no proper musical bow at hand. At the same time, of course, it is true that one can make "music" on any strung bow. This music, by the way, is clearly audible to other people, not only to the player.

533 /151/ There are no special musicians. On the other hand, one does find certain individuals who clearly take more joy in

/153 cont./

411
412

Fig. 12. Club. One-half natural size [as shown in the original text].



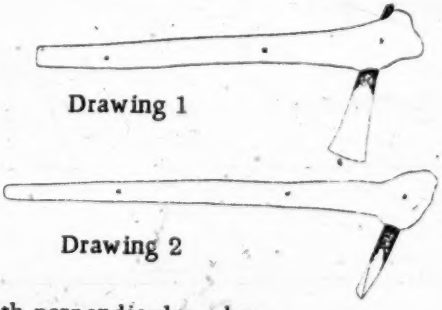
[177]

The club is an exceedingly rare imitation of a Makobe club and made by the Auin themselves.

a, knob of the club, showing burned-on decoration.

b b, handle.

Fig. 13. Ax. One-quarter natural size [as shown in original text].



Drawing 1

Drawing 2

Drawing 1. Ax with perpendicular edge:
a a, wooden handle; b, root knot; c, iron tip.

Drawing 2. Ax with horizontal blade:
a a, wooden handle; b, root knot; c, iron tip.

[439] The iron blades are obtained in trade from Makoba.

[1] Introduction

121 The purpose of my expedition, on which I was accompanied by my wife, Maria Lebzelter-Grammetbauer, was to study the anthropology and ethnology of the native tribes, especially of the Bushmen, as well as the archeology of South Africa. The original plan came from Professor Father Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D.
122 Repeated generous stipends from His Holiness Pope Pius XI made possible the continuation of the expedition, which was fostered with tireless zeal by Father Schmidt. The Austrian Government, by means of special administrative measures, made it possible for me to set out on this journey. Furthermore, the editor of Anthropos, Professor Father W. Koppers, repeatedly lent considerable support to the expeditionary fund. The Research Grant Board in Johannesburg granted me -- although for purely anthropological purposes -- a single subvention of 50 pounds.

114 I have already described the program and execution of my South African expedition in the first volume of this work. Here, before presenting the ethnological results, I should like to portray in rough outline how these results were arrived at. I must state in advance that there was a space of only three weeks between the time when the measures taken by the Austrian authorities made it certain that I could leave my homeland and my actual departure. Hence, a [123] more detailed study of the native languages was out of the question. The conditions under which a person today can do ethnological field work are fundamentally different from those of the pioneering era. [797] Through the activity of the missions, there is growing up among all [177] tribes, except for the Bushmen, a stratum of intelligent individuals who, if not in this generation, certainly in the next, will take over 000 the research among their own people. I recall a lawyer's clerk in Natal (Swazi) who had acquired a pamphlet of ethnological lectures from Johannesburg and had learned it by heart. When he turned to a White ethnologist, in order to begin the practical work, the latter assured him that just as a race horse could not be used for plowing, so an ox could not be used for racing. Meanwhile, however, a number of very creditable works by natives have
115 already appeared in print. In my investigations I have always used native schoolteachers who had a command not only of the

[7 cont.]

222 The honey badger, !uisa (N. !ous), which leads to the
825 bees, is followed ever so eagerly.

224 The common wild pig (gariba), the kudu (daub), the gemsbok χ'uaba (N. /gaib), and all the small antelopes are hunted. Pits are no longer known, although they used to dig them in former times.

If they decide to go hunting, sexual intercourse must be
[834] avoided the night before. In the evening the hunters go into the forest and spend the night there. Before dawn they rise and pray:

[539] Pu, pu, Erǒ, /nari dsu /ari mate — God, tomorrow early we receive.

When a piece of game has been killed, one of the hunters cuts a piece of flesh from the animal's body and hands it to the leader of the hunt. This meat is called am-shái-khe. A fire is made, and this piece is placed on it. When it is roasted, the leader cuts off a piece and shouts:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, ha gore, ha gore — Erob, Erob, Erob, eat, eat
i Khe Khandi ô — With us flesh.

After a pause:

ha lĕ a lĕ ha góre o Khandi ô — Come! Come! Let us eat flesh.

Now the roasted flesh is consumed. Nothing is thrown away or left behind for Erob.

Then the game is cut up, and everyone goes home with his portion.

136 Snakes are not rare, although they are by no means as common as in the stony regions of the southwest.

The boa constrictor eats human beings; if it catches a Bushman, it starts to consume him at the legs!

132 In spite of the timber forest, the danger of drought is
821 great. Erob sends rain. When there is a drought, the Bushmen
931 dance and pray:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, /ga !goro — Erob, Erob, Erob, we are dying of thirst
/ga-wi -ma ta re — Water give us,

177 [8] It is very interesting to observe how in these certainly
776 very ancient hunting and rain prayers the former old heathen gods'
782 names Huwe and χ'amab were replaced by the Christian "Ellob."

I asked the people whether they knew any other prayers and received the following answer: "We know very well that

[8 cont.]

177 nothing can be done without Erob; we also pray to him whenever
776 somebody is ill, but we have no song for that, we do it in our
782 hearts." In these conceptions Christian influence is obvious.

881 They have no initiation for boys, but there is one for girls at the time of the first menstruation.

The girls' initiation is called "dorob."

At the onset of the menses, the girl becomes a "χ'ába χ'ábesa"; a special hut (omba) is built for her, where she is guarded by older women who feed her. The girl is allowed to eat anything, but nothing with her hands. When the menses end, a two-day festival begins, which terminates with a concluding dance. The candidate is seated in the center. Men and women go around
[534] her in a circle. The men blow on wooden trumpets. (These trumpets are made by the !Kung at only one place.) At the same time the drum is beaten (!guruba). At the conclusion, the women make "music." They clap their hands and sing:

[539] e-e-e-e-a-eje a jeja ni u u e . . .

Between times the drums and wooden trumpets sound.

539 Then the choral song of the men begins.

881 boro ai /i-he ≠hasa — Daughter my has become tall (just)
≠hau ge — Stand erect (tall)
/gai /ka uta (?) /noro-re — Good be now our little sunshine (1)

1. Literally: "Shine, you."

/ari ni tessa — Dance (2), sing, sue for her hand (3)

2. Literally: "Jump."

3. Literally: "Ask for!"

!goasa hi bare — People, be glad
Ti Komi !gŏã Kŏŏ...Kŏŏ... Kŏŏŏ — So, in this way, people, you should do it.

Then the dance begins anew.

[582] The engagement usually takes place long before the
585 girl's initiation. Hence the rule is that the wedding and the girl's
881

WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD
DAMA

[9 cont.]

805 shauba, cold season (N. sáob).

!kn-aba, hot season (N. !nái, warm).

535 Among dances, an ostrich and an ape dance were mentioned to me.

123 The studies, which began so promisingly, came to an end because I was evidently unable to present the village chief with enough presents. One evening a boy appeared and told me that the Bushmen had "had to go hunting." I continued to wait a number of days for the !Kung called by Mr. Eaddes. The messengers returned with the news that they had found no one. Another Sunday coat for the village mayor and some yellow money for the Bushmen, and priceless material could have been obtained.

[107

Chapter 3

The Dama Bushmen from the Palm Bush East of the Ondonga [Ndonga]

173 According to their tradition, these Bushmen came from Herero country. Hence they represent the connecting link between the "Saan" in the Gobabis district and the Hei//om [Heikum] of the north. The people as a whole designate themselves as Daman = the wealthy. The horde around Oshigambo calls itself //Huru-Khái. They call their dialect Cháraba. I do not believe that they live far in the interior of the Otjimpolo Veld. They have an enormous respect for the !Kung. The outermost cattle posts of the Ondonga probably coincide pretty much with the boundaries of their territory. A number of them are Bantuized and have small physiques. The others engage in hunting and supply the black farmers with the flesh of wild game, hides, ostrich egg beads, and poison. They serve as beaters on the great hunts of Chief Martin. At the court they count for nothing. The farmers like to see them. Little acts of assistance, a sack of berries or veldkost, soften the heart of the black housewife, so that here, as in Uukualuthi [among the Kualuthi?], there are a number of do-nothings who are nonetheless gladly received.

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131
172
142
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648

/11 cont./

775 "No spirits of the dead remain on the world; I have never yet seen any spirits, and I tell you only what I know. People talk a lot, but they know nothing." My informant thus concluded his statements concerning the beyond.

778 A sacred fire is unknown to the Dama Bushmen.
372

881 A youths' initiation is still performed by the !Kung in the east. Among the Dama it is no longer held. On the other
184 hand, initiations for girls are still held, but they refused to give me any information about the details.

584 Marriage depends upon the free consent of the girl. To be sure, through the persuasion of the parents the girls always say yes. Once the girl has the initiation ceremonies behind her, a suitor soon approaches her to tell her that "she has now grown up and can become a wife." If the girl consents (after consultation with her parents), the suitor goes to his parents. He does not
585 consult his future parents-in-law. The bridegroom must bring a fat ox and a number of goats to the wedding. The parents of the bride likewise kill some animals. The actual ceremony consists of the bridegroom rubbing a thick layer of fat mixed with red ocher over the entire body of the bride, while the men sing:

[539] jejeje jejeje !hawawa !hawawa.

!hawawa means wedding. At the same time, the women and girls clap their hands.

177 Bantu influence is already strongly apparent in the mar-
582 riage laws. Thus, it is possible to "marry" even little girls, whom the man keeps with him until they are sexually mature. A
595 man may have as many wives as he wants. The first wife is not consulted when the husband wants to take more wives. My question concerning this matter was met with an outburst of laughter from the yellow-brown circle.

586 It is possible to send a wife away, but this is regarded as improper and indecent, and it is taken as an insult by the wife's relatives.

582 /12/ A man can look for a wife wherever he wishes; only marriage with the children of the father's siblings, especially of his sister, is prohibited.

611 The daughter belongs to the family of the man, the son to the family of the wife.

[12 cont.]

843 262 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no buck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present. As soon as the umbilical cord (//náëba) has fallen off, the child's hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut. [553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed, wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its left side in an extended position with the head toward the west. Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to weep. Offerings are not brought.

224 [177] At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khoá !Khuásha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khái-wa), and a circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the circle and on the leaves and says:

[539] [782] //am ≠haiba, //am ≠haiba (?)

The leader answers:

!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Lord! Lord! We must now go hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marksman first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

224 422 This procedure is of the greatest interest. In the lower form of hunting practiced by primitive peoples, the individual huntsman is the undisputed owner of the game he has killed. In the case of the more highly organized hunting that these Bushmen practice today, the property right of the individual hunter is still stressed through these ceremonies, although ultimately the hunter receives no more meat than his companions.

222 [184] [463] [657] [233] The gathering of veldkost does not have the great significance here that it does in the east. After all, the women already commonly cultivate a little garden plot, and the youngsters herd a few goats, while the men still practice hunting as their main OCCUPATION.

[12 cont.]

000
439 occupation. Even among the nomadic groups, however, meat, hides, and so forth are commonly traded for millet.

[222] Also, the Blacks like to have veldkost on their table, and the Bushmen, like our sponge and berry gatherers, use their knowledge to supply them and carry on petty trade with their veldkost, as well as with honey.

222
137 This is the reason that veldkost, which is either scarce or not very tasty, is not gathered at all any more; indeed, the knowledge of its presence is even disappearing. We must also not forget that the black shepherd boys long ago acquired the knowledge of the Bushmen by observing them. As a result, the number of those interested has naturally climbed sharply, and the veldkost plants have become rare. The following kinds are still regularly gathered:

222 /airoba (ombimbo) Sweetish, very starchy tubers, like large potatoes.

/érui (omauunga) Galls on the leaves of the omsati tree.

≠gan-i (etarata) Small fruit.

!Khui-i (oombi) Dates.

!Korob-ke (oompali) Bulbs at the roots of a liana.

251
439 Dried meat is made from kudu flesh, which in part is kept and in part sold.

278 [13] Arrow poison is made from the sap of a tree (Euphorbiacea), !Khores-Ke. The Ondonga themselves make no
[439] arrow poison, but buy it from the Bushmen for one to two sh per
752 portion. There is no medicine against arrow poison. Deep incisions are made at the place where the arrow entered, and after blood has flowed freely from the wound, it is sucked. In the case of snakebite the same procedure is followed, and some arrow poison is placed on the wound (!!!).

278
609 Our Bushmen denied any knowledge of poisons added to food. Only the "evil Bushmen" in the east had such knowledge, they claimed. This statement scarcely deserves credence.

177 In clothing, dwellings, and weapons, as well as ornaments, not much that is original remains. The process of Bantuization is much further advanced in the material culture than in the spiritual culture. It is, after all, easier to part with clothing than with ideas.

AKUANAMBUA
UUKUALUTHI

[14 cont.]

192
197

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Elephant	≠koá-ba	≠koáb
Hare	!kai-éba	!kàírab
Man	áure ba	áob
Woman	tarésha, taréqueta	taris
Child	/koá ruba	/gob
Encampment	//gaun-kwá	//gāus
Head	tanába	tanas
Eye	mu-i	mus
Ears	/gai-i	//noub
Mouth	am-ba	ams
Teeth	//gu-i	//gu-ĩ
Tongue	tamba	nami(*)
Nose	/kui-ba	/guis
Hand	!koam-ba	!omi
Foot	/gai-i	/eis
Ground	/kawa	khas
Arrow	/kaau-i	/ab(*)
Poison	!khore-ai	!gab, !gurub
Palm tree	/haiba	--

Of 29 words only six roots (*) show no relationship with Nama.

Chapter 5

The Bushmen of Uukualuthi

115
[177]

In all Uukualuthi, Uonkolonkathi, and Ombarantu, there are, reportedly, only two Bushmen left who understand the old language. Both of them are good-for-nothing loafers who go from one beer pot to another. Thanks to the kind offices of the missionary, Mrs. Aarni, Chief Moala made one of these men available to me. To be sure, he could not hold out for very long, and during the few days that he devoted to us, he was rarely sober. We had to limit our conversations to the forenoon. What I learned from him is a dying way of life that no longer has any continuity. The man faced the situation with the cheerful resignation of the CHRONIC, GOOD-NATURED INEBRIATE ...

[18 cont.]

134 The ground is covered with red sand (fox sand), which in the thorn bush areas changes to a firm, grayish-yellow; perhaps argillaceous sand. Chalk cliffs and other rocks are completely lacking. The Kaudum bed is perpetually covered with dense green grass. The sand pans have humous sand; only in the northeast near Schamatura is a peat-like swampy soil to be found with red, strongly ferruginous water. Forest fires are the order of the day, but they do little damage to the tree growth."

133 South of the Omuramba u Owambo there is a fairly large
134 number of limestone pans, which in part still contain water but are mostly dried up. The land there is drying up rapidly, according to both the Bushmen and the Europeans. During the rainy season the clayey soils are swampy, and at that time the
[136] dense bush forest is filled with myriads of mosquitoes, and
[164] malaria claims its victims from all races. The unhealthy situa-
648 tion, the difficulty of getting workers, and the irregularity of the rainfall have led to the abandonment of most of the farms outside Grootfontein, so that the Bushmen have actually gained ground there. The !Kung Bushmen outside the police zone live entirely according to their old customs and traditions. The in-
[578] dividual kin groups are in part hostile to one another. A kind
[619] of hereditary feud exists with the Hei//om, who are often attacked because of the women. The !Kung live on good terms with the farms along the northern boundary (Duwib, Keitsas, Keibeb, Kuntsas, Neitsas, Foxhof). Many of them work there for
[464] certain periods of time, and quite a few permanently; in particular, they like to let women and children work on the farms.
● [177] Mr. Cleark, the owner of Keibeb, has trained a large number of
[439] them to make charcoal. These Bushmen make the charcoal out in the wilderness and deliver it. It is then resold to the mottramite mine in Abenab. Until the establishment of the police zone, a perpetual state of war existed between the police and the Bushmen. There are constant battles between the Herero of Otjituo and the !Kung because of livestock thefts. The Herero attack the Bushmen on horseback and kill them from the saddle with the kirri.

The Bushmen, who are not accustomed to shooting at rapidly moving targets, usually come out the losers. Like the

[21 cont.]

157 them thought of asking a question about it. The Bushmen of today at least do not believe that any kind of magic is concealed [177] in the Europeans' machines. They learn to use European instruments fairly quickly; in particular, they soon become familiar with the rifle. Dornan reported that there was a large number of improvised rifles that the Bushmen had adapted. In a new environment, the Bushman is wholly self-possessed and coolly [648] observant. He is highly adaptable. The girls, of whom a number are kept by farmers as concubines, are quite skillful at [177] housekeeping. In Ovamboland they quickly adopt the living habits and economic activities of the Bantu. An Ongandjera Bushman acts as an instructor at the teacher's college in Oonipa. He owns a small kraal that is well-maintained in Ovambo fashion and, in addition, has built himself a round hut of tiles in which [648] he keeps his "library." They seldom stay long on the farms, but [147] probably in the main because the food does not agree with them.

609 The Bushmen are most distrustful of other people. Every armed person whom they encounter is regarded from the outset as an enemy. The Bushman is allowed to enter the regions of other tribes only if he is unarmed. Even along the edge of the farm zone the mutual distrust is so great that a Bushman who has been sent to a farm as a messenger dares not leave the road, which is regarded as a neutral zone, if another kin group has settled in the vicinity. If two armed Bushmen who are strangers approach each other, they disarm at first sight before they greet each other. When a Bushman comes to a village or to a farmhouse, he will put down his arms at a certain distance and sit down to wait patiently, if need be for hours, until he is questioned. A 186 609 distinct sense of race is not apparent. Everything that does not belong to one's own kin group is regarded as strange, even hostile, except when common persecution causes a sense of solidarity to spring up among all those who are persecuted. At the same time, they very clearly possess a kind of sense of humanity as a whole, that is, they do not believe that they are the only people, and they are convinced, for example, that the people of all races are received in the heavenly house. Their 602 conduct toward relatives is regulated by numerous customs, but in general it is formal and almost ceremonial, even toward the [593] wife and children. The Bushman is never importunate.
[157]

[21 cont.]

648 The Bushmen as a whole are despised by the other peoples, but in individual cases they are feared, and not least by the Whites. The Bushmen are familiar with this attitude and conduct themselves accordingly.

797 The Bushmen accept a foreign point of view only with
177 great difficulty, if at all. The mission, accordingly, can show no noteworthy success among them. On the other hand, they
157 usually grasp the intentions of others more quickly than the ordinarily more superficial Blacks. Consequently, they give brief and precise answers to the questions put to them. When asked questions that they do not want to answer, they remain silent. At the same time, in dealings with them one should note that they tire very quickly when they have to do mental work, and then they will not answer further questions, not because they do not want to, but because they are too tired.

181 The Bushmen are not generous. Nevertheless, allow-
[574] ing a stranger to partake of a meal, as well as giving him some
609 of the available water, is wholly matter-of-course with them.
[431] They very rarely, however, give any of their personal belongings, weapons, ornaments, hides, and so forth, as presents. If they themselves receive presents, they are obviously delighted.
181 It is true that they do not express their gratitude with words,
577 [22] but anyone who does the Bushmen a kindness may be sure that they will manifest their gratitude by deeds to the point of self-sacrifice.

To help a fellow human being who is in trouble is a
[648] moral obligation. There is a report of a prospector who lost his way in the bush forest and was then saved by the Bushmen, with whom he could not even converse; they took care of him for several days and finally put him on the right path.

Agreements and promises are kept unconditionally by the Bushman, although it is true that he usually arrives a little too late. Once, when an ox from the ox-cart of the Catholic mission had to be left behind on the way to the Okovanggo, it was put in the care of the Bushmen and they were to deliver it at the time of the next full moon. The people kept their word, and the ox was delivered, well-fed, at the specified time.

As a comrade, the Bushman is reliable and faithful (1).

181
648 1. A European had once illegally

[23 cont.]

105 and in the beyond by his traditional conceptions, and the preserva-
182 tion of this adaptation, in the spiritual as well as in the material realm, is achieved by means of a strict selection of all the cultural goods offered from the outside. This selection is consciously carried out. Put briefly: the Bushmen have hitherto refused higher
[177] economic forms not because they do not possess the ability to handle them, but because they did not want to adopt them. If the material preconditions collapse, then they adopt, step by step or all at once, totally different ways of life, as is shown by their Bantuization in Ovamboland and probably also by the formation of the Hottentot people through the adoption of livestock raising on the part of a number of Bushman tribes. Their average intelli-
[153] gence is no less than that of any other race. Every Bushman knows
[184] the entire spiritual heritage of his tribe.

Of the same Bushmen, F. Schinz (2) says:

[113] 2. F. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Leipzig, 1891.

181 "The Bushman is always faithful to his master and will follow him anywhere without pay; one need not worry about leaving him alone at the wagon and will rarely have to reprimand him for dishonesty. All travelers and hunters unanimously praise
[593] the great affection that exists between parents and children, which goes so far that the father or mother will sacrifice themselves in order to save their child. I was told [24] by the hunter L. that at the Okovanggo he once witnessed a scene in which a young Bushman, who was one of the members of the hunting expedition, was in danger of being trampled to death by an angry elephant that stormed toward him. At the last moment when his paralyzed companions had already given the boy up for lost, his father sprang forth and flung his throwing club at the forehead of the enormous animal. The elephant now turned against his new attacher and furiously crushed him under his feet, giving the son the opportunity to flee."

[114] My observations are fully in accord with those of Dornan (1)

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

[36 cont.]

Dwellings

342 The dwelling of the Bushman consists of the simple windscreen, semicircular in form and about 150 centimeters high. On [177] several farms, however, even the Bushmen have taken to building [361] beehive huts in the Herero manner. The windscreens in a settle- [378] ment more or less form a circle, and the socha fire is to be found [372] near the windscreen of the village chief. During warm nights the [513] Bushmen do not sleep under the windscreen but outside it.

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Fig. 3. Sticks for Firemaking, Kalahari Bushmen (Museum of Ethnology, Lurich).

!KUNG

[36 cont.]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the 293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire 291 too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re- [123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having [124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in [412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess [325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in [439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that, [531] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead em- broidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich 301 egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are [321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence [556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are [462] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around [306] the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of [302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to LENGTHEN THEM.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

[39 cont.]

411 The head is made of a quadrangular piece of iron 30 to 40 centimeters long and set into the shaft with a short connective piece. The shaft is reinforced at this point by a winding of iron wire.

[40] [Fig. 12 appears here.]

[41] Musical Instruments

534 [439] Large dance drums are very popular, but are not made by the !Kung themselves; they are obtained in trade from the Okawango. Once, when I purchased such a drum from a trader of ostrich egg beads in the region of Kuntsas (the drum always belongs to a specific person; collective ownership of utilitarian objects is unknown among the Bushmen), he asked me to let him keep the drum until evening so that each man would be able to drum once more. The dance rattles made of fruit are no longer to be found except in very small numbers. The !Kung are also supposed to possess wooden trumpets used on special occasions. I have never seen them.

413 [304] Finally a small number of special utilitarian objects should be mentioned. In practicing their calling, the doctors use cupping glasses, made of antelope horn, and blunt little sticks to knock out ● 177 teeth. Poisons and medicines are now manufactured and cooked 415 in empty tin cans; in fact, tin cans and tin gasoline containers are 278 gradually becoming universal objects even among the Bushmen. 805 Messenger sticks or calendar sticks are made on special occasions; 211 these are little staffs or little boards with one or two rows of holes. For example, if I tell the Bushman that I will return in five months, he will draw a string through five of the holes and knot it. At each full moon, the string is drawn back one hole.

12. Social Organization

622 [614] [888] [623] Each kin group has a chief, whose position is hereditary. To be sure, his powers are insignificant because one's whole life is public, so to speak, and the authority of the old men is so great that the decisions arrived at are essentially agreements BETWEEN THE CHIEF AND THE OTHER OLD MEN.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 25]

[54 cont.]

756 house. The doctor then begins to pray: "Lord, help us, the chil-
789 dren are dying, we are dying of thirst and hunger." He prays and
787 begs until the captain says: "It is good, I shall send water so that
796 the children will have water and veldkost." Then the great captain again accompanies the doctor halfway down. As soon as the doctor is down below, he lets go of the thread which is immediately drawn up. Now the people dance and sing, for the rain has come:

[534] /gǻ-é dsó-jā /gaa — We rejoice now over the rain.
//ē̃ gā̃ djusǻ !kho ǻdshója /ga — Then we rejoice all together.
//ē̃ gā̃ hin a /gaa /gaa — Then the rain comes.
da //goǻ dshn !gu da adschŏéa — Then the people praise the lord.
χ'u

532]

Fig. 21. Spirits of the Dead and Rain Animal (from Bleek, Rock Paintings in South Africa etc., Pl. 58).

776 Another !Kung said to me: "The great captain in the sky
821 sends the rain and all that comes from above. If he does not want to, everything remains shut up. The rain is opened up above; a great vlei is there. I do not know the name of the great captain. The Hei//om call him Som-seb."

17. Religion

771 After a critical look at the sum of the conceptions determining
177 the religious life of the !Kung, one recognizes, as would naturally be expected in the case of such an ancient people, that the elements

!KUNG

[54 cont.]

771 of various religions have found entry here. Among the Bushmen
● 177 tribes I visited there is the common belief in a supreme good be-
171 ing, whose name varies. The people described here [55] call the
176 supreme being χ'u, "the lord" or "the great captain" (1). It is

[782]

1. According to Vedder, the supreme being is Huwe (Tsumeb). When the first veld fruits ripen, an offering is brought before sunrise. A freshly broken twig is inserted into a piece of wood with a hole bored through it. The people are seated in a circle, and the eldest passes around a tobacco or dacha pipe made out of a tubular bone.

the same expression that the Cape Hottentot used in speaking to the German traveler Kolbe, with the same significance and pronunciation 705 (2). The name could not have come from the

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2. J. Schapera (The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa, 1930) has critically referred to my observations on this point. In this connection I must note: the "great captain" among the eastern !Kung may rightfully be designated as "supreme being." I have already given his characteristics in my earlier publications.

[104]
[194]

The spelling is correctly χ'u. I use χ' to designate a click that is even lower than "!". It is also found in other words, such as χ'Ame = lion. Since not all publishers provide this character, I have sometimes been forced to write "Khu" or "Chu." This word, which the !Kung, too, translate as "lord" or "great captain," was already found, as Schapera indicates, among the Cape Hottentot in 1705 as Khourou = "Supreme Ruler" and "Great Chief" or "Great Captain"; Kolbe gives a quite analogous citation a little later, and Hahn reports of one old Nama, "The people say,

[CONTINUES ON p. 108 - ANALYST]

[55 cont.]

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776

time had a dependent relationship with the Bushmen, whose quite miserable imitators they had in part become. Even today Bergdama who want to become witch doctors go from Windhoek and Okombahe to the !Kung in order to learn there. If the conceptions of the Honigkaffir reported by H. Vedder were indeed ancient Negro cultural traditions, then it should surely be possible to find parallels and, at least in the names referring to the beyond, traces of the old language. Almost always among the Bantu the world of the beyond lies under the earth, whereas among the Khoisan it is in the sky. For all these reasons, I draw the conclusion that the Honigkaffir have taken over the doctrine of /Gamab from the !Kung. The expression Erob or Elotse, which is to be found among several Bushman tribes, undoubtedly goes back to Christian Hottentot influence. The two-fold names of the supreme being among various groups in Ovamboland, on the other hand, allows one to conclude that here only one new name for a well-known conception found entry, and, to be sure, with such intensity that the Hei//om, at the Etosha Pan, for example, name their most important medicinal root the Erob root. Moreover, just as among the Honigkaffir, among the Hei//om of the Etosha Pan, too, it is /Gamab who sends thunder and lightning and who kills people with shooting stars. J. Schapera recognizes that the conception of Huwe, Thora, and the mantis as creator, as the giver of rain and success in hunting, and as the protector of human beings is common to all Bushmen (ibid., p. 195) and also has its analogue among the Hottentot. He seems to regard this being as a rain god, however.

[177]

[824]

[60 cont.]

769 territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced
614 by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, in-
614 cludes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place (1).

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 434.

775 As has already been said, the Bushman does not believe
[626] in punishment after death. On the other hand, he is convinced that the evil that he himself has done will befall him or his dogs in the same way.

681 In former times banishment from the kin group was likewise
648 customary, and the exile would soon perish, since the Bushman
177 cannot survive by himself in the wilderness for any length of time. Nowadays, such individuals, just like those who were expelled from the Bantu tribes, move to land owned by Europeans and find work there. It is obvious that they do not help to improve the reputation of the Coloreds.

695 In cases of doubt, the Bushman swears by the great captain: nu X'u.

681 Instead of formal expulsion, the people may boycott out-
762 laws, who are thereby driven to such despair that they commonly commit suicide. Suicides also occur for other reasons.

21. Conflicts with Europeans

648 Before the police zone boundary was erected, the Bushmen found themselves in a latent state of war with their neighbors. Part of their list of sins will be cited here.

According to Toke, the !Kung near Keibeb in 1925 attacked eight Barotse [Lozi] and killed them, and purportedly ate them. Later, three Ovambo were attacked by surprise, killed,

[64 cont.]

825 existence. The appearance of the ring-necked snake indicates
[787] misfortune.

774 Animistic conceptions are more pervasive in the world picture of the Masarwa (2). According to Dornan, each thing is a

821 2. The Kalahari Bushmen (Dornan, op. cit., p. 165) have some knowledge of the stars. The Southern Cross is a giraffe, but the Cape Bushmen regard it as a group of lions. Some of the Bushmen regard the stars as animals or human beings who have gone up to the sky.

773 The following story is told: During the girls' initiation a girl who possessed magical powers nodded to some lions and they were immediately transformed into stars.

The Cape Bushmen told another story: During the girls' initiation a girl was quarreling with her mother because the latter refused to give her certain roots that may not be eaten at such times. The girl seized the roots and the ashes and threw them toward the sky. The roots became stars, the ashes became the Milky Way. -- Shooting stars signify misfortune.

774 kind of spirit. Human beings and animals can each transform
[825] themselves into the other. Individual doctors change into leopards, and many animals are regarded as other appearances of man, especially the springbok, the baboon, and a number of snakes. When a ring-necked snake approaches a village, it indicates
[177] death. Bantu influence is undoubtedly at work here.

[184] The !Kung doctrine of two souls reappears in a different
774 form among the Masarwa. The shadow of each thing, as well as
775 that of the human being, is its other soul. They believe that the shadow soul remains in the vicinity of the grave, while the self walks in another place where it meets with the fathers. It is supposed to be warm there, and supposedly there is much game. In the beyond one acts the same as on this earth.

≠AUIN
NARON

[74 cont.]

773 him. They go to their huts which are under the horizon in the
821 west. At night or during the day, respectively, they go back to their huts in the east; one can hear them but cannot see them."

114 Kaufmann was unable to discover anything concrete con-
776 cerning the high gods of the ≠Auin. Concerning the Naron, Bleek
776 relates that a curious mixture of religious conceptions has come about. A central position is occupied by Hise or Hyesa, who is designated as !Khuba or !Xuba by the adult men. The old people knew nothing about this. The Nama designate !Khub as master or lord, and this word is used by a number of missionaries for Christ. These elders maintain that this concept has been adopted
● [177] from the Nama. Formerly they only knew Hise, who lived in the east. Hise is evidently the same as Heitsi Aibib (literally, "the first tree").

The Naron relate that in olden times both the trees and the
773 animals were human beings who were transformed by Hise into their present shapes. Then Hise called the chiefs of the Whites and Blacks and said to them: "Take cows and goats and live with them." But to the first chiefs of the Bushmen he said: "Take the antelopes and live on them; make traps and hunt and live in the bush."

The expression Huwu or Huwuba is known and is supposed to
776 designate the great captain of the men in the north. The details given by Miss Bleek concerning //Gauwa are interesting. In the opinion of the Naron and ≠Auin, //Gauwa is the spirit of a de-
[175] ceased person. Medicine men can also see these spirits; the
[167] women can only hear them. Many a woman declared that only men who had gone through the initiation ceremony and who have two scars between the eyebrows can become //Gauwa. A strong, howling wind is also designated as //Gauwa, however. A few individuals also believe in a chief spirit by this name, who lives near Hise in the east and to whose house the spirits return by day. Some designate //Gauwa as the younger brother of Hise; others identify him with the latter.

The Naron put both masculine and feminine endings on the word Hise. Among the ≠Auin he appears during their dances at

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE !KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THE Peabody Harvard Kalahari Expedition, under the leadership of Laurence K. Marshall, has made four field trips between 1950 and 1955 into the Kalahari Desert in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate to find and study Bushmen who were living in their own way, and not working for white farmers or for Negroes. The last of the four expeditions, that of 1955, was sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution as well as by the Peabody Museum of Harvard.

Our principal study was made with the !Kung Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. The Nyae Nyae region extends about 150 miles north and south, about 100 miles east and west, and is centred approximately at Gautscha Pan, which is located at *c.* 19° 48′ 30″ S. and 20° 34′ 36″ E. on the map of a survey of the area by the Administration of South West Africa dated 7.11.1935. The Nyae Nyae region is separated from the farmed areas of South West Africa by a stretch of waterless, uninhabited country over 100 miles wide.

We chose the !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region for concentrated study because they are the least acculturated Bushmen we found.[1] They are non-literate, nomadic hunters and gatherers, with no agriculture or domesticated animals. They are completely self-reliant

[1] On the expeditions we travelled extensively in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The groups of Bushmen we encountered were, in addition to the !Kung of Nyae Nyae, !Kung outside the Nyae Nyae region at Karakuwise, Nuragas, Khadum, and at water holes south of Gum in South West Africa, and at Kai Kai, Kubi and other places along the western border of Bechuanaland, where Chwana and Herero have cattle posts; Makaukau and Naron near Ghanzi, B. P.; !Kõ at Okwa and at Barachu, about 50 and 100 miles south of Ghanzi respectively; /Gikwe about 100 miles south-east of Ghanzi in the trackless sandy plain that lies between Ghanzi and Molepolole, where during the dry season there is no water; and //Ganakwe still farther south, below Chukudu. We studied the kinship terminology of the !Kõ and /Gikwe; Professor L. F. Maingard, for a time a member of the 1955 expedition, studied the !Kõ language, which has the labial (fifth) click of the southern group.

Professor I. Schapera and Miss D. F. Bleek, in their Bushman studies, record information on these groups. For more data on the various names by which the groups are known and the areas in which they were found and the language groups into which Miss Bleek's studies place them, see especially Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, New York, 1951, pp. 31 ff., and Bleek, D. F., 'The Distribution of Bushman Languages in South Africa', *Festschrift Meinhof*, pp. 55 ff.

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Oschimpoloveld. On the east they extend into the Bechuanaland Protectorate and on the north into Angola. Among them are included the *†Aukwe* or *‡Ao-//ǂin* in the south between Sandfontein and */Gam*, the *Sxu-‡gnassi* to the northeast and the *‡Kŭng* to the northwest.

Next in importance and numbers to the Bushmen of the Kalahari are the *Hei-//om* living in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan and on the outskirts of Ovamboland in the Grootfontein and Outjo districts. They are generally believed to have resulted from the interbreeding of Hottentots with a now extinct tribe of Bushmen which originally inhabited the greater portion of the present Damaraland and Ovamboland. Their manner of life is still that of Bushmen but, unlike their neighbours of the Kalahari, they have no language of their own and speak a Nama dialect. Except among the groups in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organisation has disappeared almost completely. The groups living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely influenced by Ovambo culture. In Eastern Ovamboland they are known by the Ovambo as *Ovachwagga;* in northwestern Ovamboland they call themselves *Ovambo* Bushmen but are referred to by the Ukuanyama as *Wakeddi* or *Ovakeddi*. Both *Ovachwagga* and *Ovakeddi*, especially the latter, are being rapidly absorbed into the *Ovambo* through intermarriage. The *Ovachwagga* speak both the Ovambo and Hottentot languages. Among the *Ovakeddi*, on the other hand, only the older members of the various groups still have a knowledge of the latter language. Of the groups along the banks of and immediately to the north of the Ovambo Omuramba very little is known. To the west they are in contact with the *Hei-//om* of the Etosha region; to the north with the Ovambo and to the east with */Kung* of the Oschimpoloveld or northern Omaheke. The *Hei-//om* of the remaining portions of Grootfontein and Outjo and of the districts of Otjiwarongo and Gobabis are scattered about on farms and are living in close association with Hottentots and Klip Kaffirs with whom they show various degrees of intermixture. In Gobabis there is only a small remnant, known locally also as the *Nama* or *Kakuja* Bushmen on account of the extent to which they have interbred with these races and the neighbouring tribes of the Kalahari.

Of the tribes which were left in Namaqualand during the latter half of the last century only a few individuals have survived. The */Geinin* of the Namib between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *//Obanen* of the Huns Mountains, and the */Koma-san* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateau have disappeared completely. The */Huinin* are represented by a few groups at the southern extremity of the */Huib* plateau and adjacent part of the Namib. The */Ganin* of the Nauwkloof Mountains have likewise become almost totally extinct.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

533 534 The young, unmarried man took a small musical instrument out of his hunting-bag, borrowed a dry tsama rind from one of the women, and, setting the instrument on the hollow rind, began to play. He filled the air with sweet, soft music, full of resonance and open, minor chords, even of rhythm and timbre as a music box would be.

The instrument itself was made of a small, flat piece of wood four or five inches square, with eleven metal prongs attached to it, arranged in two rows across two bridges. The melon rind acted as a resonator for the prongs, which were of different sizes and, when plucked, vibrated and rang like bells, in a scale which was not the octave and which I have never heard before. The name of the instrument is *te k'na,* and I believe that it is not native to Bushmen but traded from the Bantu people. Many Bushmen have them, though: Bushmen like music of any kind.

26 Soon the cornmeal was ready and we served it to the visitors on pieces of bark, in bowls formed from halves of tortoise shells, in tsama rinds. Bushmen have very little liquid food that does not come in its own natural container, and therefore they do not provide themselves with bowls. The [145 177] bowls they do have, carved from wood—an art learned from the Bantu people—are constantly in use as containers for small, loose objects, such as seeds or unstrung beads. Since the cornmeal was hot and runny, the people had some difficulty eating it with their fingers, but they got it down, the women hesitating a long time, watching the men, before they [609 538] dared to try it. I think they were afraid it would harm them, as I have heard many Bushman stories of strangers who poison tobacco or food. When they had eaten their servings and 264 609 found that they did not die, they had more, a morsel at a 578 time. We might have presented the pot to let the people help themselves, but by now we knew better. Bushmen expect

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the buffalo's horn had wounded him. Otherwise, he looked very well. All the people seemed well, especially the children. Toma's oldest son wore a crown of badger skin with the long hair standing up on it, and two safety pins that we had given him, which he wore as earrings in his pierced ears. With all this he looked bold as a pirate. His brother was nearly as big as he was, and his sister, Norna, now three, was a slender, graceful child who regarded the world with dark, wondering eyes.

Norna's sixteen-year-old uncle, Tu's brother, was there too. He was a lame boy; he had been crippled in one leg since childhood and could hobble only with the help of a long stick. People had despaired of him, believing that he would never be able to hunt and therefore never marry or inherit the headmanship of Gautscha Pan, but when we saw him now and looked at him closely we noticed a fine row of scars between his eyes and on his arms and chest and we knew that he had hunted and killed an antelope and had been scarified in his initiation. We had planned on this trip to give him presents of all kinds, to make him rich, so that he could marry whether he could hunt or not, but we saw now that this would not be necessary. When he knew that we had noticed his scars he told us in great detail the story of the hunt. He told us how he had gone out with a group of hunters, how he had first seen the two horns of a kudu above a clump of bushes, how he had silently hobbled near it, propped himself on his crutch, and shot it with a poisoned arrow. The arrow had penetrated deeply and the lame boy had returned to tell the others. They had followed it with him for a day and in the evening had found it dead. It was the lame boy's kudu, though; he shot it, and to Bushmen that is the important thing. He was scarified with a paste made of the kudu's meat, and ever after that he was a man.

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

174 place, and stayed. In *Nyae Nyae*, the !Kung have since lived on unchanged
[411 —replacing only their bone arrow-
points with metal ones, made from
● 177] the nails and wire that filtered into the
desert after the Europeans' entry into
South West Africa.

178 The !Kung nation cannot so live for much longer. Already their last lands are being occupied by the Herero nation—Bantu-speakers—who say: "The Bushmen are like our children. We feel obligated to care for them." It seems likely that, in a few years, these lands will be farmed by white people. Then, if the past of other Bushmen is any omen, some !Kung will become farm laborers, some will contract syphilis, some will die and some will breed. Few will marry.

000 So much for the little history and the brief geography. How do the !Kung live in *Nyae Nyae?* Human ecology is the study of the relation-

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

to the /Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae /Kung eat hearty meals of meat when they have been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount. They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey or against a future day of hunger.

The /Kung are quite conscious of the value of meat-sharing and they talk about it, especially about the benefit of the mutual obligation it entails. The idea of sharing is deeply implanted and very successfully imposes its restraints. To keep meat without sharing is one of the things that just is not done.

Gift-giving

The custom of gift-giving comes, in my opinion, second only to meat-sharing in aiding the /Kung to avoid jealousy and ill will and to develop friendly relations. /Kung society puts considerable emphasis on gift-giving. Everything a person has may have been given to him and may be passed on to others in time. The /Kung make their artifacts, on the whole, of durable material and take good care of them. They last for generations and move in a slow eddy among the people. The dealings are only between individuals, but they are numerous and provide occasion, perhaps more than any one other activity does, for visits which bring whole bands into polite encounter.

We gave cowrie shells as parting gifts in 1951 to the women in ≠Toma's band, the band which first sponsored us and with which we stayed and did our consistent work, wherever they were, on each expedition. We had carefully observed that there were no cowrie shells among /Kung ornaments before we gave them. Ours were bought from a New York shell dealer, perhaps to the confusion of future archaeologists. We gave to each woman enough for a short necklace, one large brown shell and twenty smaller grey ones. In 1952 there was hardly a cowrie shell to be found in Band 1. They appeared, not as whole necklaces, but in ones and twos in people's ornaments to the edges of the region.

The /Kung have not developed special objects to use as gifts. Nor have they invested ordinary objects with special gift significance. What they give each other are the common artifacts and materials of everyday life (see Appendix). Some objects are more highly valued than others as gifts, as one would expect. I gathered that relative scarcity of material was a factor and that objects were appreciated for their beauty, workmanship, and appropriate size (a wide headband is better than a narrow one). People took an interest in remembering to whom an object had been given in the recent past, but the /Kung, who are present-oriented, do not place special value upon antiquity as such or systematically hold the distant past in mind.

The /Kung decorate their artifacts very little (they have developed music and dancing, not the plastic or pictorial arts), but they delight in ornaments with which to adorn themselves. The intrinsic beauty, the meaningfulness, and the relief to the monotony of yellow-brown skin and grey-brown leather karosses are all valued.

The most highly valued gifts are the traditional ornaments of ostrich egg-shell beads, especially the wide headbands and necklaces of five or six strings of beads reaching to the umbilicus. The creamy white is becoming to them. They like European beads also, of all colours, though white is definitely their preference. The only thing they do not like about beads, Gao Beard told us, is shortness of the string. After ornaments, the /Kung value implements or utensils, *‖gwashi* or dance rattles, which have required time and care to make, but perhaps more especially valued are metal objects and pots. The latter are obtained by trade. The /Kung do not trade among themselves. They consider the procedure undignified and avoid it because it is too likely to stir up bad feelings. They trade with the Bantu, however, in the settlements along the B.P. border. The /Kung offer well-tanned antelope hides and ostrich egg shell beads. For these they obtain tobacco, beads, knives, axes, malleable metal for making arrow-points and spear-blades, and occasional files and chisels, fire-strikers, and pots.

The odds are with the Bantu in the trading. Big, aggressive, and determined to have what they want, they easily intimidate the Bushmen. Several /Kung informants said that they tried not to trade with Herero if it was possible to avoid it because, although the Tswana were hard bargainers, the Herero were worse. /Qui said he had been forced by a Herero whom he was afraid to anger to trade the shirt and pants we had given him as our parting gift in 1952 for a small enamel pan and a little cup. /Ti/kay had more gumption. A Herero at the beginning of a negotiation with him brought out a good-sized pile of tobacco but took from it only a pinch when it was time to pay. /Ti/kay picked up the object he was trading and ran off. ≠Toma said with amused exaggeration that ' a very good Herero, a respectable one, will give a handful of tobacco for five cured steinbok skins. A bad Herero will give a pipeful (he showed the size of his fingernail) for three skins.' The Tswana values are a little better. A well-tanned gemsbok hide brings a pile of tobacco about 14 inches in diameter and about 4 inches high. The values vary. Some that were reported to us were three rooibok, duiker, or steinbok skins for a good-sized knife, five strings of ostrich egg-shell beads for a spear.

The /Kung have become dependent on metal, especially knives, axes, and arrow-points. They have been able to trade enough for every man to have these implements. They could, however, exist without them and do still use a few bone and wood arrow-points. Poison makes their arrows deadly, not penetrating power. The pots are Ovambo or Okavango pottery (the /Kung make no pottery themselves) or European ironware. The /Kung like to have a pot around to borrow sometimes; not everyone wants to carry one. They cook mostly in hot ashes. More for their novelty, I thought, than for their worth, the /Kung trade also for old oddments of cloth garments (they weave neither cloth nor mats), pieces of blankets, basins, &c.—things they do not really need—but which they like.

Tobacco they need ' to make the heart feel better '. Oddly enough for these passionate smokers, tobacco was not given so much emphasis in gift-giving as one might expect. They do make gifts of tobacco, but when anyone lights a pipe he passes it around anyway; all present drag smoke into their lungs until they almost faint and it has not mattered much who owned the tobacco.

Eland fat is a very highly valued gift. An eland provides so much fat that people

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

can afford to be a little luxurious. They rub it on themselves and on their implements and they eat it. ≠Toma said that, when he had eland fat to give, he took shrewd note of certain objects he might like to have and gave their owners especially generous gifts of fat.

Real property and the sources of food and water are owned by the headman for the band and cannot be given away. However, meat, once it is distributed after the hunt, and veldkos, once it is gathered, become private property and may be given. Artifacts are privately owned by the individual man, woman, or child, as outrightly owned if received as a gift as if made by the individual. They borrow and lend a great deal—in itself this is one of the ways they support each other and aid themselves in maintaining social solidarity—but this does not blur the clarity of ownership. Each object acquires some markings of its own from the maker and from usage. It is easy for the /Kung, with their highly developed powers of observation and visual memory, to keep track of the commonest objects, know the ownership, and remember the history of the gifts.

As far as we know, no artifacts or materials are taboo as gifts. For instance, women may be given weapons, although it is taboo for women to touch them.

In quantity the gifts varied. One which /Ti/kay gave to ≠Toma was considered generous. It was a fine ostrich egg shell headband, three ostrich egg shells, and a well-tanned duiker skin as soft as suede. Another generous gift consisted of a knife, a spear, and a triple string of traded white European beads. Often gifts were less. The feelings persons have for each other, the degree of their past indebtedness, what they happen to possess and can give, determine the generosity of the gift.

The acquisition *per se* of the objects was seldom, I believe, of primary importance to most individuals in gift-giving—that is, if the objects were their own artifacts. As the /Kung come into more contact with Europeans—and this is already happening—they will feel sharply the lack of our things and will need and want more. It makes them feel inferior to be without clothes when they stand among strangers who are clothed. But in their own life and with their own artifacts they were comparatively free from material pressures. Except for food and water (important exceptions!) of which the Nyae Nyae /Kung have a sufficiency—but barely so, judging from the fact that all are thin though not emaciated—they all had what they needed or could make what they needed, for every man can and does make the things that men make and every woman the things that women make. No one was dependent upon acquiring objects by gift-giving.

They lived in a kind of material plenty because they adapted the tools of their living to materials which lay in abundance around them and which were free for anyone to take (wood, reeds, bone for weapons and implements, fibres for cordage, grass for shelters), or to materials which were at least sufficient for the needs of the population. The Nyae Nyae /Kung had hides enough for garments and bags; they kept extra hides when they needed them for new garments or when they wanted them for trade; otherwise they ate them. The /Kung could always use more ostrich egg-shells for beads to wear or trade with, but, as it is, enough are found for every woman to have a dozen or more shells for water containers—all she can carry—and a goodly number of bead ornaments.

In their nomadic hunting-gathering life, travelling from one source of food to

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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/KUNG BUSHMAN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS[1]

LORNA MARSHALL

MY purpose in this paper is to describe some of the religious beliefs held currently by the /Kung Bushmen of the interior bands of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. I shall limit the paper to a description of their concepts of the gods, the problem of evil, supplication, the spirits of the dead, and the ceremonial curing dance, but leave for another paper a more detailed account of medicine men, how they become medicine men, and more about their practices and beliefs. We gathered the information which I present principally on our expeditions of 1952–3 and 1955.

Schapera traces considerable borrowing in the past by the Bushmen from Hottentots and Bergdama.[2] I did not have opportunity to trace, to any significant extent, possible present-day borrowing or exchange of ideas, and can only report that contact, and therefore opportunity for exchange, takes place between the interior bands of /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region and the Tswana and Herero on the border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung have contact also, but much less frequently, with Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south and through them to some extent with Naron in the Ghanzi region of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae occasionally see /Kung to the north of their region, who in turn see the Okavango and Ovambo tribes. Although the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not enough contact with white people before we came to absorb any Christian ideas directly from them, and no Christian missionary has been in the interior of the region, an influence of Christianity cannot be precluded because the Tswana do have contact with Christianity. Our own highly valued interpreter, Kernel Ledimo, who grew up near the border and spoke Bushman from his childhood, had been educated in an Anglican mission school. Although there has been contact with people who have Christian ideas, I do not recognize with certainty any Christian elements among /Kung beliefs.

One is left to wonder if the change in the concept of the nature of the gods, particularly in that of the great god, which appears when one compares the old tales with current concepts, was brought about entirely by the philosophical and logical powers of the /Kung themselves and by their adjustment to emotional needs, or whether influences from without played some part. I hope that the research of others may throw light on this point.

I should like to mention a few of the well-known Bushman beliefs, recorded in the past, which the present Nyae Nyae /Kung do *not* have and then proceed to a more systematic description of beliefs which they hold at present.

The Nyae Nyae /Kung have various beliefs and lore about the sun and moon, Canopus, the Pleiades, and other stars, and they have the well-known myth of the moon and the hare; but they do not attribute active divinity to the heavenly bodies, which are 'just stars', they say in effect, and we did not find that they either fear

[1] We are grateful for a grant towards the publication of this long article.

[2] I. Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, London: Routledge, 1930. Reference is particularly to chapter vii.

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where the names came from (' The old people told us that he gave himself these names ', they said) and I do not have sufficient relevant comparative material to throw possible light on the question. Informants said that ≠*Gao!na* was the oldest of the names of God and that */Gara* was the next oldest.

The Names of the Lesser God

The great god named the lesser god by giving him all of his own ' divine ' names but not his human name, ≠*Gao!na*.

Having been named for the great god, the lesser god is the great god's namesake, his */guma* (*/gu* is name, *ma* is small or younger), and the great god is the */gu!na* (*!na* means old, older, or big).

The concept of the namesake, and of the relationship between the */gu!na* and the */guma*, is an important one in the /Kung kinship system.[1] */Gu!na* and */guma* are always of the same sex, /Kung names being sex-linked. One shares in some mystical way the entity of the person for whom one is named. Incest taboos require that one must not marry the parent or offspring of one's */gu!na* or */guma*. Behaviour between a */gu!na* and a */guma* is as open and free from formal restrictions as any in /Kung society. They have the joking relationship. Only the usual respect of the young for the old is expected.

The opposite conditions exist between parent and child. A man must not name a son for himself or a daughter for her mother. Parent and offspring do not have the joking relationship.

It was interesting to me to find the great and lesser god in the */gu!na–/guma* relationship rather than the father–son relationship, as it offers some evidence that the concept of the two gods is not influenced by the Christian concept of God, the father, and Jesus, the son. Also one comes to see that the father-son relationship would not serve the Bushmen as well as the */gu!na–/guma* relationship in explaining the problem of evil, for a son would not present as sharp a duality, but, according to human standards, would express respect, obedience, deference, propriety, and assistance, which is not *in total* the function of the lesser god.

The Names of the Wives of the Gods

The Nyae Nyae /Kung believe that ≠*Gao!na* gave all his own ' divine ' names to both of the wives; *di*, the suffix which means ' female ' is added: *Hishedi*, *Hnwedi*, *Kxodi*, */Garadi*, *Gani gadi*, ≠*Gaishi* ≠*gaidi*, *||Ganwadi*.

≠*Gao!na*, the great god's human name, is not applied to the wives, men's names never being given to women. One would say instead ≠*Gao!na a tsan*, ' ≠*Gao!na* his wife '.

Each wife has a human name as well. The elder one, who usually lives alone with ≠*Gao!na*, is named *Khwova!na*, Old Khwova. The younger one is *||Gow*. (*||Gow* rhymes with *how*. The *ow* sound in the men's names Gao, ≠Gao, and /Gao I use arbitrarily and mean by it a slightly shorter, more closed sound, like the *ow* in *owch*.) We knew only two women named *||*Gow but knew many Khwovas.

The wives of the gods may be referred to or addressed by a respect term, used

[1] Cf. Lorna Marshall, ' The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, no. 1, Jan. 1957, pp. 1–25.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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sticks. /Kai /Kini cooked his food with the fire. Other people ate raw food. One day ≠*Gao/na* 539
was walking in the veld and he came upon the place where /Kai /Kini was living. He was not there but his children were. They were eating cooked *//karu*. ≠*Gao/na* asked for some and found it very good. 'Oh, you eat nice cooked food,' said ≠*Gao/na*. 'How do you cook it?' The children said, 'Our father has a nice thing and he always gives us cooked food. He does all the best for us.' ≠*Gao/na* said, 'I shall come back tomorrow and eat this kind of food again.'

Next day he went back. As he was walking along he saw /Kai /Kini and his children digging for food in the ground and he hid himself and watched. When they had gathered enough, they went back to their werf and /Kai /Kini went and got his fire sticks from the place where he had hidden them. He twirled and twirled and twirled the male stick against the female stick, saying, 'Fire will come; fire will come.' When the fire was made and the food was cooking, /Kai /Kini hid his fire sticks again. ≠*Gao/na* was watching all the time. When the food was dished up, he came out from his hiding-place and sat down by the fire and they all ate together.

After a while ≠*Gao/na* said, 'Now we must make a game to play', and he made a *jani* toy, mounting it with a guinea-fowl feather, weighting it with a *tsi* nut. He tossed it into the air with his stick and, when it floated down, ran and caught it and tossed it up again and again without its ever falling to the ground. /Kai /Kini wanted to play. ≠*Gao/na* gave him the *jani*, but /Kai /Kini could not toss it high and did not get away from his house in following it. ≠*Gao/na* said the guinea-fowl feather was no good, they must put a big paouw feather on it. This they did and the *jani* flew high. ≠*Gao/na* then opened the wind and the wind blew from the eastern side and blew the *jani* toward the west. /Kai /Kini followed and followed it, fascinated, tossing it higher each time he caught it. ≠*Gao/na* followed /Kai /Kini and, when they came to the place where the fire sticks were hidden, he seized them and ran with them into the veld. As he ran he broke them into little pieces and then threw them the whole world over. 'All the world is going to get fire now', he said. 'Fire, fire, go over the world.' Since then there has been fire in every piece of wood and all men can get it out and cook their food. /Kai /Kini stopped playing and looked at ≠*Gao/na*. ≠*Gao/na* told him, 'It is not right that you alone should have fire. From now on you will not be a person', and he changed /Kai /Kini into a bird named ≠*ore*.

These events were told by the old old people. They happened long ago.

The Present Image: /Gao/na, *the Creator*

In his present image, the image of power, ≠*Gao/na*, the creator and controller of 776
all things, is very different from the old protagonist. Bushman informants insisted on their belief, nevertheless, that ≠*Gao/na* of the tales and ≠*Gao/na*, the great god of the eastern sky, are one and the same. For them, through the name, one being has merged into the other and a continuity has been maintained.

The /Kung did not bring up the question of how his nature became so changed. I surmise that it may have been when the name *Huwe* found its way from the Berg- [177 ●
damas to the /Kung, and the name *Hishe* from the Auen, that certain elements of the 178]
present image came in, changing the earthly old ≠*Gao/na* into a lofty sky god. But I know nothing about the names */Gara*, *Gani ga*, and ≠*Gaishi* ≠*gai* and nothing about the time or order in which the names may have been created by the /Kung, or adopted, or with which characteristic one or the other may be associated. I *am* sure that current emotional needs and the imaginations of the people who are now living have continued to be at work upon the image, interpreting it, re-creating it, and bringing it to its present form.

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are big doors on the ends and small doors on the sides. Our informants believe that all the *//ganwasi* (spirits of the dead) live on the lower floor, and that ≠*Gao/na* and his wife and children live on the upper floor. Although the house differs so much from a Bushman scherm, the /Kung use the same word for it, *choo*. No mortal has seen ≠*Gao/na*'s dwelling place, not even the greatest of medicine men. The old people were told about it, but how they were told is not known. When ≠*Gao/na* appears to the great medicine men he meets them somewhere else.

The image of the house accords with beliefs held by North-Western Bushmen as Schapera reports: 'But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Hnwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama.'[1]

The image accords in several respects also with that of the Eastern Kung, whom Lebzelter describes, except that in the belief of the Eastern Kung the spirits of the dead live on the upper floor and ≠*Gao/na* on the lower.[2] The stone walls and the corrugated iron roof are the new elements, added as the Nyae Nyae /Kung visualize him in his present power, possessing and commanding all things.

Only exceptionally great medicine men see ≠*Gao/na*. If I understood correctly, this is not because he is generally invisible but because he comes near only to them. ≠*Gao/na* is 'wild', as an animal is 'wild', meaning 'keeping his distance'. He has so much power in him that he is dangerous. If he came into a werf his power might destroy it. Some of the medicine men said that ≠*Gao/na* would not come nearer than about a hundred yards, pointing to a tree to illustrate the distance. /Ti/kay, who claimed that he himself had never seen ≠*Gao/na*, said that even a big medicine man is apt to be frightened when he sees ≠*Gao/na* for the first time and might say, 'What does this man want? He is bad. I don't like him.' /Ti/kay continued, saying that even a *very* big medicine man, long in medicine, having seen ≠*Gao/na* many times, would still be frightened, but when sickness came and he was curing and was full of power, he would keep a 'tight heart' and take a stick and would rush at ≠*Gao/na* and hit him and yell, 'You sent a bad sickness. You must take it back.' And the sick person would get better. This is how all the medicine men habitually treat the lesser god and the spirits of the dead, whom they meet regularly at the medicine dances, but, as ≠*Gao/na* does not come to the medicine dances, the great medicine man would encounter him only under special circumstances and would indeed need all his courage.

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 397.

[2] 'This "supreme being" [*Hwov* or *Xu*] is regarded as anthropomorphic, he looks like a Bushman and he also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky in a house with two storeys, the lower of which is occupied by himself, his wife, whose name is unknown, and many children, while the upper is occupied, as already mentioned, by the souls of the dead (*xu*). In appearance this house is similar to the ordinary Bushman hut, although not quite the same, and its exterior is "hairy like a caterpillar." Honey, locusts, fat flies, and butterflies are found here in superabundance, and the "great captain" feeds upon these; the souls of the dead, however, merely sit around and eat nothing. *Xu* summons the magicians to their profession, and gives them supernatural powers; he is the lord over rain and lightning, as well as over the spirits, *//ganwasi*, and through the chief of the latter he sends good fortune in hunting or in the collection of veldkos. If anybody thinks or speaks evil of him, he punishes the evildoer with lightning; otherwise he takes no interest in the doings of his "Bushman children", except when somebody swears falsely by him, for the Kung have a regular oath in which they invoke him. He is prayed to by them in fixed form for rain, in case of severe illness, before going out hunting or before undertaking a dangerous journey' (ibid., p. 184).

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Trans. Rhod. Sci. Assoc. 41: 57-62. April, 1946. illus.
(Of historical interest as figures represent Bushmen meeting with another race, possibly the Hottentots) [648] [199]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

drama, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in the Aristotelian sense. Fear and hostility find an outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there are support and solace and hope.

CHANGE

Today (1962) the pattern of life for the Nyae Nyae !Kung has begun to change radically. Many Bushmen of other language groups have had prolonged contact with the Bantu peoples among whom they live, and some have worked on Europeans' farms. Systematic studies of their social changes are lacking. The Nyae Nyae !Kung, as described here, had contact with Herero and Tswana neighbors in trade, but this contact did not appear to change the social structure of the independent !Kung. They are only now beginning to feel the impact of European contact. They were remote; they are no longer so. When, in 1951, we first worked our way to their area from the outposts of the farm lands, we were eight arduous days en route, in trackless, waterless country of bush and heavy sand, our four trucks heavy with water and petrol, equipment and supplies. Today a well-cleared track gives access in a day. Farmers began to come into the area to get the Bushmen to work for them and have their eyes upon the land.

The government of South West Africa, realizing the problem of the Bushmen, has appointed one of their most competent administrators of native affairs to be Bushman Affairs Commissioner, and is supplying him with funds and equipment. He and his wife are in the Nyae Nyae area and are working with several families of !Kung. He is leading one group of them into agriculture and this year they harvested a crop of corn. Others of the men are employed in road building and are being paid a cash wage, currently a shilling a day. It is too early to say what will happen to their social forms in so radical a change, which ones they will lose entirely, which they will retain and adapt to new conditions. All we know is that the !Kung who are taking part in the experiment have expressed themselves as willing and anxious to try to develop a new way of life.

NOTES

(1) Some of the ethnographic material used here has been previously published in my articles in *Africa* which are cited in the bibliography appended to this chapter. The ethnographic material is used with the permission of the International African Institute and the editor of *Africa*.

(2) Skeletal remains of Bushmen are found associated with late stone age implements in South Africa, but not with early or middle stone age (Schapera

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

(3) The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

(4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into categories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

(5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been published by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

(6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

(7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed. A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

177 411 415 291 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had metal weapons, and utensils and clothing of European manufacture for at least 40 years.

162 433 Among the 34,800 Bushmen classified as non-hunting, there are, of course, many degrees of economic development. At one extreme, there are the second generation farm Bushmen of the Grootfrontien, Gobabis and Ghanzi Districts who have permanently given up the traditional subsistence round. Other farm Bushmen spend the rainy season living in the veld and work on the farms only in the winter dry season.

Many of the Bushmen in Ngamiland and the Crown Lands have made an excellent adjustment to modern conditions. For instance the Mababe and Pandamatenga people enjoy a settled village life combined with hunting for cash furs with rifles and steel traps. Many of the men work for hunting safaris where they have gained a good reputation as trackers and gun bearers.

433 The distribution of the various economic patterns is plotted on Map 4. There are four categories:

1. Full time hunting and gathering
2. Bantu-associated peoples with traditional lord-client relations
3. Independent villages with cash hunting and wage labor
4. European farm workers

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131
312
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[162] this area is waterless and uninhabited. In the center is a ring of pans and a series of waterholes which support at present a population of 1,200 !Kung Bushmen. They occupy an area of about 3,500 square miles (70 miles from east to west x 50 miles from north to south). This central complex of water sources is surrounded by a belt of waterless, uninhabited country that varies in width from sixty miles, on the east and north, to over one hundred miles on the west and south. Access to the interior is limited. One line of wells links Tsumkwe in the interior with Grootfontein on the west.

[491] Two rarely used motor tracks join the interior with the Okavango swamp to the east. A police patrol road cut in 1954-55 runs from south to north along the B.P./S.W.A. border. The maximum vehicle speed obtainable on these tracks is 20 mph

[177] and trucks pass through about once a month. The difficulty of the terrain, the lack of farming potential, and the scarcity of water have deterred European and Bantu penetration of the area.

[114] The distinction between periphery and interior has been applied to the country of the central !Kung by John Marshall (1957) and Lorna Marshall (1960:327ff). The present usage differs from that of the Marshalls. They applied the term "interior" to the Nyae Nyae ring of pans and regarded the waterholes at /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and !angwa as peripheral. Since

175
648 The Bushman residents of Bechuanaland, however, were not immediately affected by these restrictions. They continued to hunt and gather on the South West side and to visit their kinsmen at localities in the Nyae Nyae area.

648 The period of European presence, 1960-1965 - In 1960, the
177 South African Government put into operation its plan to civilize the !Kung Bushmen of the interior. A government station was set up at Tsumkwe where a borehole was sunk. Mr. C. V. McIntyre, the Bushman Affairs Commissioner, took up residence at Tsumkwe. The !Kung Bushmen from Nyae Nyae were
[241] ingathered and provided with rations of maize meal. After they had been settled around the borehole a program was initiated to teach them agriculture. Because of a series of drought years this program has not met with success.

[162] By 1964, over 800 !Kung Bushmen had been settled at Tsumkwe. Less than 50 of these people had come from the
[178] Bechuanaland side. It is not clear why the Bechuanaland
[162] !Kung have not participated in this program to a greater
[224] extent, but the fact remains that over 350 !Kung continue to
[222] hunt and gather in the Dobe area and seem to indicate no intention of moving to Tsumkwe.[1]

648 The latest development in the political situation in

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[1]Some B.P. Bushmen insist that they were refused permission to live at Tsumkwe. Others say they fear to go there.

412 The women possess several other tools which are of subsidiary importance in the food quest:

- wooden mortar and pestle
- wooden spatula for moving ashes
- carved wooden serving spoon
- tortoise shell bowl
- bundle of tail feathers for fanning the cooking fire
- pottery containers of Bantu manufacture
- 415 iron pots and enamel bowls of European manufacture.

• 177 224 411 The mens' hunting kit represents the most evolved sector of Bushmen technology. It includes at least 19 different tools made from seven kinds of raw materials. The primary weapons include:

[177] 1. bow
[278] 2. arrow poison
[231] 3. spear
4. springhare probe
5. knobkerrie(club)
6. iron tipped arrows
7. quiver
8. hunting dogs
9. rope snares

Secondary weapons include:

[372] 10. fire drill
[177] 11. flint and steel fire making kits
[412] 12. digging stick
[283] 13. iron knife
[177] 14. iron adze-axe
15. carrying yoke
16. knotted net

Manufacturing and repairing tools include:

[278] [415] 17. poison-making kit; humeral cup, pestle, applicator

18. whet stones of basalt

[283] 19. wild cotton for polishing rope snares

These raw materials are also part of the man's kit:

[283] 1. sinew

2. twine of natural fibers

3. iron fencing wire

[278] 4. supply of poisonous grubs

[237] 5. bone chips for making arrow link shafts

[411] 6. grass stems for arrows

7. wood for bows, poles and spear shafts

224 411 The construction of the hunting arrow will illustrate the complexity of the weaponry. The arrow consists of a mainshaft about 13 inches in length made from the stem of the grass Phragmites communis (Story 1964:94). Into this is inserted a bone linkshaft about two inches long, carved from the humerus or femur of giraffe, kudu, or gemsbok. The linkshaft is joined to the metal arrowhead by a hollow section of grass stem one inch in length. The arrow head is commonly made from iron fencing wire. It consists of a stiff length of wire four to five inches long. The tip of the arrow is beaten into a small triangular blade one half inch from base to apex and five-sixteenths of an inch at the base.

[177]

824 is not eaten. Next is a casing of granular-textured fruit
262 which is eaten. The fruit encloses the nut itself. This consists of a thick outer shell which must be cracked open with the nut-cracking stones. Within the thick shell is a softer inner shell which encloses the nut kernel which is the staple of the Bushman diet. This inner kernel is "packaged" within four protective layers and this explains its remarkable storage properties.

824 In the late summer and autumn months the Bushmen eat
252 large quantities of both the fruit and the nut. First the women boil potfuls of whole fruit in order to separate the outer flesh from the hard shell. The flesh of the fruit produces a delicious fruit puree that tastes like stewed prunes. After the fruit is eaten, the nuts themselves are set aside for later cracking and eating.

184 The summer hunting situation appears to vary from camp
221 to camp. At the !Gausa camp very little hunting was done.
224 [179] The resident men assisted the Bantu in cattle herding and they
[648] received calabashes of sour milk as payment. At Characharaha
[464] the men hunted more, killing gemsbok, python and porcupine. At one summer camp, Mokoro, where there were no Bantu resident, two young men killed four large buck in the space of one month (two kudu and two gemsbok). This Mokoro camp was an
[179] unusually successful one. The availability of cows' milk and meat no doubt lessens the men's incentive for hunting

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

on account of their relative geographical distribution. These names may also be used as affording a convenient means of grouping the different tribes.[1]

The SOUTHERN GROUP is distributed mainly over the region roughly south of the Tropic of Capricorn. Of the tribes included in it the best known, both ethnologically and linguistically, are the */xam-ka !ke* (i.e. */xam* people), commonly spoken of as the "Cape Bushmen". They were formerly spread over the greater part of the Cape Province south of the Orange River, and seem to have been very numerous. They have, however, been almost completely exterminated, and at the present time only a few individuals still survive in the north-western districts of the Province, where they are mostly employed as farm hands by Europeans.[2]

A similar fate has overtaken several other tribes of this group. The *//ŋ !ke* ("home people") of Griqualand West and Gordonia are now also represented by only a few individuals, the majority of whom are farm hands in the Langeberg District.[3] East of them, in Orange Free State and Basutoland, lived other Bushmen, of whose language, folklore, and customs some records have been preserved, but who are now apparently quite extinct, and whose tribal name even is unknown.[4] They will be spoken of here as the "Basutoland Bushmen". Still further east, on the shores of Lake Chrissie in the Eastern Transvaal, live a few other Bushmen as farm hands, evidently remnants of a tribe that once roamed over the High Veld of the Transvaal. They do not seem to have retained their own Bushman name, but use the term *BaTwa* applied to them by the neighbouring Amaswazi, a Bantu tribe, traces of much intercourse with whom are seen in both appearance and speech.[5]

[1] D. F. Bleek, "The Distribution of Bushman Languages in S. Africa," *Festschrift Meinhof*, 1927, pp. 55–64; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 1929, pp. 1–6; cf. also I. Schapera, "The Tribal Divisions of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), pp. 68–73.

[2] The literature on this tribe is considerable, although most of it is fragmentary. The most useful sources are: J. Barrow, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, 2 vols., London, 1801–4; T. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," *Globus*, xviii (1870), Nos. 5–10; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, Breslau, 1872; W. H. I. Bleek, *A Brief Account of Bushman Folklore and Other Texts*, London, 1875; L. C. Lloyd, *A Short Account of Further Bushman Material Collected*, London, 1889; G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, London, 1905; W. H. I. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends: Bushman Folklore*, Cape Town, n.d. (1923).

[3] D. F. Bleek, art. cit. in *Festschrift Meinhof*, p. 56; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, p. 1.

[4] T. Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage d'Exploration au Nord-Est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, Paris, 1842; J. M. Orpen, "A Glimpse into the Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, ix (1774), 1–13, reprinted in *Folk-Lore*, xxx (1919), 139–56; S. S. Dornan, "Notes on the Bushmen of Basutoland," *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, xviii (1909), 437–50.

[5] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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619 in the west to the Okavango and Lake Ngami on the north and east. They are divided into four main local groups, the */Ogowe* of the Lower Omuramba Omatako, the *Agau* south-east of Karakuwisa, the *Nogau* of Karakuwisa and the Upper Omuramba Omatako, and [197] the *ǂKungau* north of Tsintsabis and along the Okavango, all of which, however, speak the same language and have identical customs and [162] beliefs. Their numbers are estimated by Fourie at between 500 and 800, but if one may judge from the statements of reliable observers such as Seiner and von Zastrow this figure is a good deal too low.

[197] North of the Okavango, in Southern Angola, are found a number of other Bushmen speaking the same language as the Kung of South-West Africa and calling themselves by the same name, or sometimes by the names */gei /kū*, "red people," or */o /kū*, "forest people." They extend north up to about 15° S. lat., west to about 16° E. long., and east as far as the border of North-West Rhodesia. These Angola Kung, or */O Kung*, as they will be spoken of here, have been con- [177] siderably influenced in mode of life and customs by the interdwelling 144 Bantu peoples who are their overlords, and are gradually being absorbed into them through racial intermixture. They are sometimes referred to by the names applied to them by the Bantu: *BaKhankala* or *VaNkala* in the west, *BaSukuwera* in the centre, and *VaShekeli* in the east.[1]

To the west and south-west of the Kung in South-West Africa are the *Hei-//om* or *Heikum* ("tree dwellers"), who are scattered over a large extent of the country, from north of the Etosha Pan and the outskirts of Ovamboland in Grootfontein and Outjo districts to near Rehoboth in the south.[2] This part of South-West Africa is fairly densely settled by other peoples as well, so that it is possible for only a few of these Bushmen to lead their native life. Most of them now work on farms, and except among the bands in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organization is said to have 619 disappeared completely. Whether free or in service, the majority now 197 speak a Nama dialect, and in culture and physical characters also they 177 have been influenced to a very great extent by the Nama and the Bergdama. The bands living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely influenced by Ovambo culture, and are rapidly being

[1] (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.*, xxi (1927), 47–56; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928), 105–25.
[2] H. Werner, op. cit.; L. Fourie, "Preliminary Notes on Certain Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6), 49–63; *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, Cape Town, 1928, pp. 79–105.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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absorbed into the OvaMbo through racial intermixture. Werner, however, found some of them speaking a language of their own. The examples he gives of this show it to be closely related to the language of the Kung, so that the tribe can be regarded as falling within the Northern group of Bushmen. Its numbers are estimated by Fourie at between 1,000 and 1,500.

The CENTRAL GROUP is composed of many tribes who inhabit a considerable portion of Bechuanaland Protectorate, especially in the Central and Northern Kalahari. The languages of these tribes differ in some respects from those of the two previous groups, and present many close similarities to the Hottentot languages.

In close proximity to the Auen, by whom they are termed *Naron* ("insignificant people"), live the *//aikwe*, one of the best known of the Bushman tribes.[1] They are found principally in Bechuanaland Protectorate, their territory extending from Sandfontein in the west to Ghansi in the north-east and Okwa in the south-east. Further north and east, as far as Lake Ngami, are the closely related *Tsaukwe*, *Tsonokwe*, *ǂamkwe* and *!giŋkwe*, all friendly tribes, whose languages the *//aikwe* understand, and whom they include with themselves in the collective designation *K"am-ka Kwe*, "Mouth's people."[2]

Beyond them, in the marshy region extending from Lakes Ngami and Linyati in the south to the Okavango delta at Andara in the north, live the *Bugakwe*, *ǂgarikwe*, and *ǂgokwe*, who all speak the same language and term themselves collectively */tannekwe*, "river people."[3] In the sandy plains north and east of these tribes, between Okavango River and the Kwando, are the *Hukwe*, called *MaKwengo* by the MaMbukushu and *MaSarwa* by the BaRotse amongst whom they live. Still further east, between the Lower Kwando and the Zambesi Rivers, and probably extending into North-West Rhodesia, are the *Galikwe*, often known by their Bantu name *MaDennassena*.[4] In

[1] H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, Oldenburg n.d. (1891), pp. 388–99; S. Passarge, *Die Busc!männer der Kalahari*, Berlin, 1907; Gentz, "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," *Globus*, lxxxiii (1903), 297–301; lxxxiv (1903), 156–9; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron, A Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari*, Cambridge, 1928.

[2] Passarge, op. cit., 24; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 2.

[3] Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland und seine Bewohner," *Z. Ethn.*, xxxvii (1905), 649–716; F. Seiner, "Ergebnisse einer Bereisung des Gebiets zwischen Okawango und Sambesi (Caprivi-Zipvel) in den Jahren 1905 und 1906," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxii (1911), 1–111; *idem*, "Die Buschmänner des Okawango- und Sambesigebietes der Nordkalahari," *Globus*, xcvii (1910), 341–5, 357–60.

[4] Seiner, op. cit.; J. C. B. Statham, *With my Wife across Africa by Canoe and Caravan*, London, 1924, 255–7; J. H. Wilhelm, "Aus dem Wortschatz der !Kun- und der Hukwe-Buschmannsprachen," *Z. EingebSpr.*, xii (1922), 291–304.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushme, FX18

619 197 physical characters and certain aspects of their culture, these tribes differ somewhat from the Naron and allied tribes, but their languages are of the same type.

619 South-east of Lake Ngami, in and around the Hainaveld, live the *Tserekwe*, *ǂdukwe*, and *ǂkabakwe*.[1] Further east, along the Botletle River and the south-east Okavango basin, are the *Ohekwe*, often known by their Bantu name *MaTete*. Closely related to them are the *MaHura*, who live along the Lower Botletle and Lake Kumadau, extending in the east to the Makarrikarri depression.[2] The name these people are known by is obviously of Bantu origin; what they call themselves has not been recorded. Finally, in the Tati district on the eastern border of Bechuanaland Protectorate, and extending into the adjacent districts of Southern Rhodesia, are still other Bushmen, whose own name is apparently *Hiechware*, "people of the open country,"[3] but who are commonly spoken of simply as *MaSarwa*, a name which, as previously mentioned, is applied by the BeChwana to Bushmen generally. All these tribes have evidently been long exposed to Bantu influence, and are strongly mixed with Bantu blood. Some of them still lead their traditional mode of life, but they are all to some extent subject to their Bantu neighbours, often acting as their huntsmen and cattle herds, as well as being required to pay them a regular tribute.

[177 144]

In addition to the tribes included in these main linguistic groups, there are two other groups of Bushmen of whom mention must be made. In the coastal province of Mossamedes, South-West Angola, a number of Bushmen are found between the Capondo River on the north and the Korocas River on the south.[4] Very little is actually known of them. They are spoken of only by their Bantu names—*BaKwando*, *BaKwisso*, *BaKubei*, and *BaKorocas*—and appear to have been considerably influenced in race and culture by the neighbouring Bantu. Their distribution suggests that they may belong to the Northern Group of Bushmen, but as no information is available about their language this cannot be definitely asserted.

[177 144]

619 197 The other group comprises the few isolated inhabitants of the

[1] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 25; R. Pöch, "Ethnographische und geographische Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," *Petermann's Mitt.*, lviii (1912), 15–20 and map.

[2] Passarge, loc. cit.; Pöch, op. cit.

[3] S. S. Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their Language," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 37–112; *idem*, "Tati Bushmen," *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. xii (1921), 205–8; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, London, 1925.

[4] J. Oliviera Ferreira Diniz, *Populaçoes indigènas de Angola*, Coimbra, 1918, 477–91.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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144 coming from the BaRotse and the BeChwana, is more strongly marked, especially in the Okavango-Zambesi basin. Here the Bushman tribes such as the Hukwe and the Galikwe, who have been longest in contact with the Bantu, are found to diverge most in appearance from the true Bushman type as seen south of the Molopo.

177 184 In culture, again, the Namib Bushmen and those south of the Molopo River form a separate division; the latter especially have apparently been little affected by foreign influences, and in features such as art, ritual, and mythology have developed along special lines. The Northern tribes, on the other hand, have obviously been influenced in technology and several other aspects by contact with alien peoples. Their culture has consequently been modified and has deviated somewhat from that of their southern relatives. The North-Western tribes (Auen, Naron, and Kung) have certain well-marked features of social organization and religion not noticed further south, while the Heikum in many aspects of their culture show unmistakable signs of Hottentot and South-Western Bantu influence. The other Kalahari tribes, especially those to the north-east and in the extreme east, have been considerably influenced in material culture and to some extent also in religious beliefs and practices by the Chwana tribes among whom they live.

184 These differences are important. At the same time, it must be noted that little is known of the Namib Bushmen, who now live as scattered remnants. The Southern Bushmen also are now almost completely extinct, and the only aspect of their culture at all carefully investigated is religion and mythology, preserved in the texts collected by Bleek, Lloyd, and Orpen. The North-Western tribes, on the other hand, are the most fully studied of all. It is possible therefore that some of the differences apparent between them and other Bushmen may be due simply to lack of the relevant information about the latter. The North-Eastern tribes, again, have not yet been investigated with the thoroughness and detail they deserve. Here also the possibility remains that further knowledge about them may reveal more features in common with the other Bushmen than are at present observable.

Numbers

181 The distribution of the Bushmen over so many distinct political areas, their general inaccessibility, their nomadic hunting life and consequent habit of living in small separate bands all combine to render difficult any attempt to arrive at a comprehensive figure of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Dress and Decoration

Bushmen

Save where there has been a good deal of contact with European influences, all the Bushmen wear garments made entirely from the skins of animals, usually some kind of buck taken in the chase.[1] Complete nudity is hardly ever found, though it is reported on hearsay evidence by Miss Bleek of some of the wilder bands of Auen and Naron. All the clothes are made by the men, who prepare not only their own garments but also those of their wives and children.

The principal garment of the men among all the Bushmen consists in a triangular piece of skin, two ends of which are tied together round the loins, while the third is passed between the legs and knotted on behind. Some of the North-Eastern Bushmen (Tannekwe, Hukwe, Galikwe), who have been much in contact with the Bantu, have adopted the form of loin-cloth worn by the latter, in which a piece of skin passed between the legs is drawn before and behind through a leather girdle tied round the loins. A skin cloak (" kaross ") is also worn by most of the men, especially in cold weather or when on the march. This is tied over the right shoulder by means of strips of skin attached to two ends, and hangs so as to cover the back and, if large enough, also the chest, while leaving the arms and left shoulder free. It is sometimes worn slung over both shoulders and tied under the chin. The head is usually uncovered, but skin caps are sometimes seen, as well as leather sandals tied round the ankle with thongs.

On the march the men carry a round bag slung on over the right shoulder and hanging on the left hip. In it are carried all sorts of small possessions and food. A longer skin bag, containing the weapons, fire-sticks, etc., is also hung over the left shoulder. Bark quivers for the arrows are sometimes found as well, more especially among the Southern and Namib Bushmen.

The women wear a hanging apron in front, consisting in a piece of skin attached to a leather belt passing round the loins. It is often ornamented with bead or leather tassels. A smaller apron, covering only the genitals, is sometimes worn beneath this. The older women

[1] The fullest descriptions of Bushman dress and decoration are given by: Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 428–30; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 33–40; Kaufmann, " Die Auin," 140–3; Werner, " Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 255–7; Seiner, " Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Sambesi," 297–8; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 87–90; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 8–10; E. Gretschel, " Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 101–10.

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62) 101 *!gom* or omungete nut; and the *xom-khoin* the people who *xom* or scrape together, the name indicating their method of collecting salt on the Etosha Pan, along whose southern border they live.[1] How the bands are named in the other tribes is not clearly stated. In the [114] literature they are spoken of as a rule in terms of the locality they inhabit, but no indication is given whether this is also the name by which they call themselves and are known to their neighbours.

619 101 These hunting bands are grouped into what are here called "tribes". A tribe consists of a number of neighbouring bands, the members of which all speak what they themselves regard as one language. Each tribe has its own distinctive name. In the Southern and Central linguistic groups this usually ends in the word */ke* or *kwe* respectively, i.e. "people"; but in most cases the meaning of the name itself has not been recorded or can no longer be determined. The few tribal names which can be interpreted seem to refer to some general characteristic of the people themselves or of the country which they inhabit. The *//ŋ !ke*, for example, are the "home people"; the */tanneckwe* the "river people"; the *Hiechware* the "people of the open country", and the */o !kŭ* the "forest people", while the */kŭ* (*Kung*) are simply "people", or, as they would interpret the name "Bushmen". The *Hei-//om*, again, derive their name from the [177] Hottentot words *heis*, tree or bush, and *//om*, to sleep, and are therefore the "tree-sleeping people", i.e. those who sleep under trees; while the term *Naron*, by which the *//aikwe* now sometimes speak of themselves, appears to have been applied to them originally by the Auen and to mean "people who are insignificant".

619 [197] The tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group. It has no social solidarity, and is of very little, if any, importance in regulating social life. There appears to be no tribal organization among the Bushmen, nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all the members of the tribe, nor is collective action ever taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. The tribe in fact is merely a loose aggregate of independent hunting bands which have a common language and name.

621 [623] [622] The band, and not the tribe, is the real political body among the Bushmen. Each band is autonomous, leading its own life independently of the others. Its affairs are as a rule regulated by the skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men in general. In the North-Western tribes, however, each band has also a chief, whose

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50.

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114 131 621 There is unfortunately no reliable information available as to the extent of territory occupied by the band. The only writer to touch on this question is Seiner, who estimates that in the Grootfontein district in the north-east of South-West Africa the average hunting territory covers about 700 sq. km.[1] This figure, however, cannot be regarded even as approximate, for it is based on what is almost certainly an excessive estimate of the total Bushman population in that district.

Size of the Band

162 621 The number of people who make up a band varies from tribe to tribe, and even within the tribe itself, although it is never considerable. Some of the older writers on the Cape Bushmen speak of bands containing from one hundred to one hundred and fifty persons,[2] but groups much smaller in size are also mentioned.[3] Certainly in more recent times the number of families living together seldom exceeded three or four.[4] The remnants of the Namib Bushmen now also live in very small groups of only a few persons,[5] and so do the Hiechware in the Eastern Kalahari, where a band rarely has more than about twenty members.[6] Elsewhere Dorman states that he has seldom seen more than six or seven families together at a time, all told about thirty persons, and this was in a camp at permanent water.[7] The !O Kung in Angola are also found living together in very small bands. The largest group met by Miss Bleek consisted of sixteen men and fifteen women; everywhere else little parties were seen of from two to six men, with their wives and families.[8]

621 648 [177] In considering these figures it must be remembered that the Cape Bushmen were already being persecuted and dispersed, and their organization disintegrated, by their more powerful neighbours at the time when they came under observation, while the Namib Bushmen are now almost extinct and live in very unfavourable country. Whether they were formerly banded together in larger numbers there is no means of telling. The Hiechware and the !O Kung, again,

[1] Seiner, loc. cit.
[2] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 271; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 53.
[3] Burchell, op. cit., i, 456; Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 48; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 144.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii.
[5] Trenk, op. cit., 166; Seydel, op. cit., 504; Range, *Landeskunde . . . des Namalandes*, 73.
[6] Dorman, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 90.
[7] Ibid., 130.
[8] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.

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male relatives of the chief with their wives and families.[1] The relationship to one another of the families in the bands of the other North-Western tribes is not indicated by our authorities. It is reasonable, however, to expect that most of them at least will be similarly connected, since as a rule married sons with their wives and children will remain together in the same band as their father, while married daughters will leave it to join the bands of their husbands. Moreover, in case of divorce the children remain with their father, and although unweaned children must go with their mother, they can be claimed later by him if he likes.[2]

Dornan says that "the Bushmen of the Kalahari are divided into many small clans",[3] but the term "clan", as used by him, applies sometimes to what has here been called a tribe, and sometimes to a hunting band. He speaks also of exogamous "totemic families" and "totemic clans" among the Hiechware and adjoining tribes, but admits that here the occurrence of this "totemism" is the result of Bantu influence.[4] There is no evidence yet that definitely goes to show the existence of totemism among any of the other Bushman peoples.

Nor, as far as can be seen at present, is there any real clan organization among the Bushmen.[5] The bands of the Cape and Namib Bushmen and of the !O Kung are certainly not clans, while the little we know of the social structure of the band among the North-Western Bushmen does not in itself justify our regarding them as such. There is also nothing at all to indicate the existence of a clan organization cutting across the system of grouping into hunting bands.

It must again be emphasized, however, that our knowledge of the social organization of the Bushmen is fragmentary, and that there are many questions relating to the structure of the band about which no adequate information is available. We are nowhere told clearly, for instance, how membership of the band is determined among the North-Western Bushmen.[6] In general it would seem that children

[1] Op. cit., 86. [2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 34; Kaufmann, op. cit., 117.
[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 67. [4] Op. cit., 161; cf. 68, 128.
[5] The *clan* is commonly defined as "an exogamous, unilateral group of persons all the members of which are held to be related to one another and bound together by a common tie. This tie may be a belief in common descent from some ancestor, real or mythical, it may be the common possession of a totem, or the common habitation of a village or district" (*Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, 5th ed., p. 55). A patrilineal clan is one of which membership is determined by descent traced through the male line, i.e. a person belongs to the clan of his father and his clansmen are related to him primarily through his father. A matrilineal clan is one in which descent is similarly traced through the mother.
[6] Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung (op. cit.), says curtly (p. 14) that a boy belongs to the family of his father, a girl to that of her mother ("Die Knaben gehoren zur Sippe des Vaters, die Mädchen zu der der Mutter"). This statement is at variance with all so far known about the Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed before it can be accepted as accurate.

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CHAPTER V

SOCIAL HABITS AND CUSTOMS

DAILY LIFE AND FOOD

Daily and Seasonal Routine

THE life of the Bushmen is one long struggle for food. For their subsistence they rely entirely on the natural products of their environment: their animal food is obtained mainly by hunting, and occasionally fishing, while their vegetable food consists of edible plants, roots, and fruits growing wild in the veld. Save where they have been very considerably influenced by other peoples, they neither practise agriculture nor keep domestic animals which can supply them with food in the way of meat or milk.

The very mode of their subsistence makes them all wanderers. As soon as the edible plants in the vicinity of one waterhole grow scarce, the people move on to another, following the movements of the game and the growth of the plants. In this way a few months are spent at one waterhole, then some months at another, perhaps at even a third or fourth, and it is often a year or more before the first is revisited.

In particular their movements are regulated according to the season and the distribution of the rainfall upon which they are mainly dependent for their food supply. In the Namib Desert and in the Central and Northern Kalahari each band has different dry and rainy season quarters, to which it resorts as the growth of veldkos or the movements of the game necessitate. The Namib Bushmen roam about the sand dunes of their region during the rainy season and well into the dry season, but as soon as the water and the indispensable */naras* fruits found there are exhausted, they draw back into the mountains, where each band has its permanent waterholes.[1] Similarly the Bushmen in the Central Kalahari roam in the sandy plains during the rainy season, and still manage to live there for part of the dry season, even after standing water has disappeared, on succulent melons and roots; but when these also begin to fail the people are

[1] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166, 168.

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lighting a new fire at the next encampment, although this is a practice which, as we have just seen, Fourie explicitly denies for the Heikum.

There is no indication at all in the available literature that similar usages relating to fire are found among the rest of the Bushmen, nor is there any further evidence of their occurrence among the tribes mentioned above. On the other hand the sacred fire also plays a very conspicuous part in the social and ritual life of the OvaHerero, OvaMbo, and Bergdama, all of them close neighbours of the Bushmen tribes among whom it is found, and with the last two of whom the Heikum at least have intermixed considerably. It is probable therefore that the special observances relating to fire among the Heikum and the Kung may represent borrowed elements of culture; but much fuller information is needed about them before this can be definitely asserted. Whatever their origin, however, these usages now obviously play an important part in the social life of the people. In particular, the fact that at the present time the chief of the band has certain exclusive functions in connection with fire is of outstanding significance in the whole sphere of public life, and one which cannot be dismissed merely because it may be due to the effects of contact with other peoples. To this point we shall have to return when discussing the political institutions of the Bushmen.

Special Usages relating to Food

There is not much information available about food taboos, but it appears that, in some of the tribes at least, certain foods are forbidden to persons at different stages of life. In the texts obtained by Dr. Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen there are preserved the details of some of the food taboos prevalent among this people. Thus little children were not allowed to eat the heart of the jackal (on account of this animal's great timidity), certain portions of the ostrich, or the tip of the springbok's tail; a menstruating girl might not eat game killed by the young men, lest she bring them ill luck—she had to eat only game taken by her father; a certain kind of tortoise was forbidden to young unmarried men and women, for fear of arousing the wrath of the rain; women were not allowed to eat the flesh of the lynx; the tail of the porcupine was forbidden to certain (unspecified) persons; while all refrained from eating a certain small portion of the flesh of the hare.[1] The published information relating

[1] L. C. Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, cf. references in Index, s.v. "Food—not to be eaten."

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that among the Bushmen all game is shared out among the members of the band. To what extent the same elaborate rules of division exist in the other tribes is difficult to determine. The only other indication of similar practices is found in the texts obtained by Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen. Only a selection of these have so far been published, and the information contained in them is rather fragmentary. But it appears that women, for example, were not permitted to eat the meat of the shoulder blades, lest the men subsequently prove unsuccessful in hunting; that the man who shot the animal might not take part in cutting it up; and the bones which were left over had to be carefully put aside in certain special ways.[1] Obviously such usages hint at an elaborate procedure in regard to the cutting up, distribution, and treatment of the meat; and one can only regret that all the details relating to them have not yet been made available.

Narcotics

As narcotics the Bushmen use chiefly tobacco and dagga (*Cannabis sativa*), the latter a herb with marked intoxicating effects. All grown-up people, and even small children, smoke tobacco when they can get it. They do not cultivate it themselves, although a few men among the Auen and the Naron are said to have made slight efforts to grow tobacco and dagga after the manner of their Bantu and Bergdama neighbours.[2] Almost all the tobacco used by the Bushmen is imported through trade or obtained by service with other peoples, and they are always extremely keen to acquire it.

In the north-west their pipes (Plate XI) are generally tubes of serpentine, some 3 inches long and rather wider at one end than at the other, which are cut and hollowed out with the iron spear point or with a knife, or even with a small stone drill. The hollow shin bones of small buck are also sometimes used, but nowadays the most prevalent form of pipe is an empty cartridge-case! Pipes consisting of an antelope horn were largely used by the Cape Bushmen. Near the point of the horn was made a hole, into which was inserted a reed tube, and on top of this was fitted an elongated clay bowl to hold the tobacco. When these pipes were used, some water was put into the horn, the mouth applied to the large orifice of the horn, and the

[1] Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 271 sqq.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 18; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148–9.

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taking up residence with the husband's group. On arrival in his own 591
//gaus his mother builds a hut for them."

A different form of marriage ceremony has been recorded for the 585
now extinct inhabitants of Basutoland and Orange Free State. Here, [184]
the consent of the bride having been obtained and also the approval of her parents, who received some kind of present, a day was fixed for the event. All the neighbours round about were invited to a feast. When they had all begun to make merry, the young man took the opportunity to seize the bride. This was the signal for her relatives to set upon him with their digging-sticks; they gave him a sound thrashing, and a general fight ensued. If the bridegroom managed to keep a tight hold through all this, the issue was decided, and he was a married man. If not, he would have to undergo a second ordeal some other time before he could again claim his bride.[1]

Among the North-Western Bushmen girls taken in war or found [727]
trespassing are also often held as wives by their captors.[2] Miss Bleek 583
indeed, says of the Naron that marriage is nominally by capture.[3] A young man wishing to marry comes with an older man to another village, ostensibly to pay a visit, and sits chatting, without mentioning his purpose. They look out for a good opportunity, and then carry off the girl to their own village. By this act she is married, whether she likes it or not. It seems, however, that talk about the marriage mostly precedes the "capture". "The mother thinks it proper to make a fuss, but if her objections are only for show, the men take no part in the matter, and the girl is led away, probably quite willingly, though etiquette demands some coyness. If, however, the mother really objects, thinks her daughter too young, or does not like the suitor, she rouses the men to action, and the would-be bridegroom and his friend have to depart." During Miss Bleek's stay at Sandfontein an attempt at real capture did occur, but the assailants were driven off in this way. In the old days, she adds, much fighting seems to have [721] [177]
been caused by attempted capture; now fear of the white man tames down the affair.

Married Life

The relation between husband and wife in one of its aspects is [581]
sexual. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual intercourse 837

[1] Stow, op. cit., 96, quoting Miss L. C. Lemue; cf. Arbousset, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope* (English trans., 1842), p. 351; Dornan, "Bushmen of Basutoland," 442.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 85.
[3] *Naron*, 33.

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184 304 881 During her seclusion a row of small parallel cuts, which are all blackened with ashes, is made on her face, or arms, or legs by her father or a male magician. Miss Bleek is convinced that these cuts are partly for ornament, but adds that there also appears to be a [776] religious element present, as one woman informant said that *//gãũa*, a supernatural personage, leads this dance, and that the cuts are made in his honour.[1] Both the scarifications and the presence of a supernatural being are foreign to the puberty ceremonies for girls in other Bushman tribes; but, as will be seen shortly, both occur (in somewhat different form) in the puberty ceremonies for boys among the North-Western tribes.

184 881 In all the ceremonies so far described, girls are required to pass through the rites individually as soon as they have their first period. Among the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, however, it appears from the very fragmentary data supplied by Dornan that girls are initiated in groups. The central feature of the ceremony, as described [304] by him, is an operation performed on each of the girls, which consists in the "perforation of the clitoris" (*sic*) with a stone knife, the operators being the older women.[2] If this information be correct, ● [177] we have here a ceremony in every way distinct from those of the other Bushmen, and one which can only be regarded as having been borrowed from the neighbouring BeChwana, whose puberty ceremonies for girls are of a somewhat similar nature.

Boys' Puberty Ceremonies

881 Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after reaching the age of puberty, and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in hunting, especially in the pursuit of big game. Among the North-Western tribes this ceremony is carried out in a secluded spot in the bush, near which no woman may come.[3] Here all the eligible big boys from several neighbouring encampments are taken [756] by the old men, with a couple of magicians in charge; and here they remain for about a month, living together in a big hut or enclosure. During the first few days they are roughly handled and half-starved;

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122.
[2] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 159.
[3] Passarge, op. cit., 100–1; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23–5; *idem*, [114] "Buschmänner von Angola," 122; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 51; Fourie, op. cit., 91–2. Passarge states that the ceremony takes place during the dry season, i.e. at the coldest time of the year; Fourie, on the other hand, that it is always held during the rainy season, when food is plentiful. The other writers do not mention the time of year.

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304 881 The only other Bushman people among whom the occurrence of initiation rites for boys is definitely recorded are the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari. Here the main element seems to be circumcision. "The boys," according to Dornan,[1] "are operated on at the age of twelve years, all those of the same age being taken together once a year, as with them puberty comes on at an early age . . . (Then follows a description of the operation: the foreskin of the boy is seized by the operator, who pulls it forward over the gland as far as it will stretch, and then cuts it off close with one slash of a stone knife.) . . . They 881 are treated with considerable care for two or three weeks afterwards, and are fed upon meat . . . They are instructed in the traditional lore of the people, the religious observances and into the mysteries of generation. They are carefully informed that intercourse of [834] uncircumcized people is that of the beasts of the field, that in short it is fornication, as well as a good deal that will not bear to be put into print."

114 304 177 184 Although, as already mentioned, Dornan regards circumcision as an original Bushman custom, there can be little doubt that the Hiechware have taken it over from the BeChwana among whom they live. They are the only Bushman people among whom this practice is asserted to occur, while its absence from other Bushman tribes is explicitly affirmed by all writers. Consequently the puberty rites in the form described by Dornan must be regarded as introduced elements of culture. It is conceivable that the boys' puberty rites among the North-Western tribes should also be attributed to Bantu influence, since nothing similar to them appears to exist in the south. But in several of their details, especially in the introduction of the tribal deities and in the form of mutilation these rites differ considerably from the corresponding rites of the neighbouring South-Western and South-Central Bantu, while on the other hand they are intimately connected with both the economic activities and the religious beliefs of the Bushmen. It is difficult therefore to imagine their having been borrowed, unless it is conceded that they have undergone considerable modification in the process of adaptation. But whether borrowed or not—and the possibility of borrowing, although difficult to establish, is not entirely eliminated—these rites clearly separate the North-Western tribes from their Southern relatives in at least one important feature of culture.

[1] Op. cit., 158-60.

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detail. The simplest type has an unfeathered main shaft of hollow reed about fifteen inches long, notched at one end to receive the bowstring, and a head about six inches long (Plate IXf). The latter is made of either wood or a fragment of bone split off from the tibia of an ostrich, and is inserted into the hollow of the shaft. At the connection there is a binding of sinew round the end of the shaft, which prevents it from splitting and also keeps the head in place. The projecting end of the head is pared down to serve as a point. In many arrows of this type is found a small piece of quill neatly fastened in place with a binding of sinew about an inch and a half from the point so as to act as a barb. All this portion of the head is carefully smeared over with poison.

A modification of this type resulting in a foreshaft is often seen. The head is not pointed, but is cut off square and notched about three inches from its junction with the main shaft. Into the notch is inserted and gummed down a small triangular point of flaked stone such as agate or chalcedony; in more recent times, since iron and then glass have become available, these are generally found used instead (Plate IXa, e).

Still a further modification is seen in the remarkably ingenious type of arrow which, with a few minor variations in detail, is found widespread among almost all the Bushman tribes (Plate IXc, g.). Its main shaft is also of reed, with a simple notch at one end to receive the bowstring. Into the hollow of the other end is inserted a foreshaft of bone or quill, occasionally of wood, varying in length from two to six inches, and kept in place by a tight binding of sinew round the end of the main shaft into which it fits. Its projecting end fits into what may be called a link shaft, also of reed, about an inch long. Finally into the other end of the link shaft is fitted the point of the arrow, about four inches long and generally barbed. The whole link shaft is completely bound over with sinew. The point is made either of bone or of iron; bone is found mainly in the southern arrows, but is not restricted to them, while iron is a later introduction now used by all the Bushmen wherever obtainable. The whole point, together with the sinew binding on the link shaft keeping it in place, is coated over with poison.

Some of the North-Western tribes (Naron, Auen, Kung) also have another type of arrow, with a reversible head of bone (Plate IXb, d). This is pared to a sharp point at one end, and rounded off at the other. For safety in carrying, the pointed end, which is the only one poisoned,

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and in minor quarrels it is the weapon of offence or defence. The spears have long wooden shafts and an iron head about six inches long. The latter is obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu, but the spear itself is made by the Bushmen. For the shaft they pierce the end of a stick, then heat the tang of the iron head in the fire and insert it, binding the joint tightly with sinew.[1] Relatively few of the men possess these spears, and as they do not appear ever to have been used by the Southern Bushmen they can safely be regarded as weapons borrowed from the Bantu.

Methods of Hunting

The Bushmen, as already indicated, have a variety of devices for catching game, the particular method employed being determined by the nature of the intended prey and the season of the year.[2] In some cases the animals are run down on foot. In this manner, for instance, small buck such as the duiker and steenbok, and even big game such as the gemsbok, are hunted during the "big rainy season" (late summer), when the ground, sodden with moisture, impedes the progress of the animals and causes them to fall an easy prey to the hunter, who on overtaking his quarry kills it with the kirri or the spear. This method cannot be employed for small game during the dry season owing to the difficulty in following the spoor, but in the hot part of the dry season young buck are easily caught in this way, as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. Many varieties of big game, such as the wildebeest and zebra, are also run down in the hot dry season. After a herd of game has been located, one or more men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued relentlessly, never once being allowed to rest, until it is exhausted and brought to bay, when the hunter comes up and kills it with the spear.

Burrowing animals, such as the spring hare (jerboa) and anteater, are caught in their holes by means of a long barbed stick. This is poked down the hole into the animal's flesh, either to drag it out or to transfix it while another man digs down to it. Snakes are sometimes caught in the same manner. The man who pulls out the snake runs fast, dragging it after him, while others throw kirris and spears at it; this cannot be done in grass or the snake may escape. Steenbok,

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 14; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4, 152; Gretschel, op. cit., 102–3.

[2] The fullest descriptions of the hunting life and methods of the Bushmen are given by Stow, op. cit., 80–94; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 167; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 667–8; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 45 sqq. (an exceptionally detailed and graphic account); Kaufmann, op. cit., 144–7; Dorman, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 94 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 15–16; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 99 sqq.

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more important as a mode of subsistence than hunting.[1] It is also the work of the men. Among the Cape Bushmen, especially those living along the banks of the Orange River, the principal method employed lay in the use of funnel-shaped traps of closely woven reeds, about 3 feet long and 18 inches to 2 feet wide, narrowing towards the mouth. These traps were stretched across the stream in a shallow part, and while some men stood waiting behind them, others waded up stream from a point below and drove the fish before them to the reed traps, where they were then caught and thrown on shore.

In the Okavango basin this method is also used, but there is a variety of others as well. Sometimes the fish in the lakes and rivers are speared from flat-bottomed boats, probably adopted from the MaMbukushu and MaKoba of the same region. Sometimes, again, small stone dams are built from each bank so as to run out into the river in a slanting direction, leaving a narrow opening in which is placed the reed trap. The fish are either swept into these traps by the force of the current, or are driven in by the Bushmen themselves. Or, again, reed fences or stone dams are built straight across the beds of the dry courses into which the river overflows at times of flood. When the flood has reached its highest level, and the water begins to sink, the retreat of the fish carried along into these courses is cut off, so that they are easily caught.

Special Hunting Observances

The method of hunting by pursuit and the use of weapons is surrounded by all the Bushmen with various special usages and beliefs. Charms to ensure good luck in the chase are found among them all. With the North-Western tribes these most commonly take the form of scarifications serving to endow the hunter with the qualities of certain animals and enabling him to hunt them successfully. The cuts are made as a rule on the arms, sometimes on the cheeks, occasionally also on the back, chest, or belly. A tiny piece of meat is then burned to ashes, which are rubbed into the wounds. The meat is that of an animal whose qualities are specially desirable, e.g. that of the springbok for swiftness. These cuts are usually given to boys soon after they begin to hunt, and are executed by old men who are themselves successful hunters. The cuts made between the eyebrows

[1] Barrow, op. cit., i, 290, 300; Lichtenstein, op. cit., ii, 44; Alexander, op. cit., i, 237; Passarge, "Okawangosumpfland," 697–8; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296; Dornan, op. cit., 108–9.

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Division of Labour

In the manufacture of these different utensils, implements, and garments, as well as in the collection of food, there is no division of labour within the band save as between the two sexes. Every man is expected to be able to hunt, to make bows and arrows, and to do all the other things that are done by men; and in the same way every woman is expected to do the work recognized as pertaining to women. Some women, it is true, are more clever and industrious than others in making beads, some men better at hunting or at twisting rope and boring pipes, but all know how these things are done and none devotes his life to any one of them exclusively. The only special occupation is that of the magician, who in addition to having religious and magical functions is also the physician, but otherwise even he lives and works as do the rest, getting a few presents for his occasional services.

The division of labour between the sexes is clearly marked. A man hunts and snares game, fishes, collects veldkos as the opportunity arises while he is out hunting, prepares skins, makes the clothing for himself and his family, makes his own weapons, arrow-poison, firesticks, and other implements, twists rope, manufactures the larger wooden vessels and other utensils, makes fire, and occasionally assists the women in fetching wood and water. A woman builds the hut for her family, gathers veldkos and prepares the food, fetches wood and water, maintains the fire, makes her own ornaments, and is also responsible for keeping the camp clean.

Among the Auen the beginnings of specialized labour are found in that certain men work in iron, i.e. make spear and arrow heads and other implements out of any pieces of iron they can obtain. The production of raw iron from the ore is unknown to all the Bushmen, who, as a rule, obtain whatever iron they use by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples. Among the 10 Kung of Angola a further division of labour was found by Miss Bleek in a group at Rusembu, where only the good shots went hunting, while other men worked in iron, and another appeared to be the trader and honey gatherer.[1] But specialization of this kind is quite exceptional in Bushman life.

Trade

Although the Bushmen are thus able to draw from the resources of their environment almost everything they really need, economically

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 153; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55.

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177 439 they are no longer self-sufficient. Contact with other peoples has made them familiar with various articles, especially iron and tobacco, which they now covet very greatly and in order to obtain which they carry on an extensive system of barter. Even within the band itself [437] there is a good deal of barter in such things as meat, clothing, veldkos, and utensils. Berries and roots, for example, are exchanged for tobacco or beads, skin bags for poisoned arrows, and so on. Trading [484] visits to other bands are also frequent. But the most common form of barter is with peoples of other races, especially the Bantu.

439 [184] [222] The !O Kung of Angola, unlike all the other Bushmen, do not go out into the veld to collect vegetable foods. These are obtained by barter. The younger men hunt, and trade part of the meat and skins obtained for the cereals, maize, potatoes, manioc, etc., of the Bantu among whom they live. Honey and wax are also collected and traded, sometimes with the Bantu for food and tobacco, now and again to Europeans for powder and cartridges. Wax is a good article of trade with Portuguese traders, and the Bushmen are therefore assiduous in collecting it. Besides foodstuffs they also obtain pots and baskets from the Bantu, as well as metal wares such as knives, arrow and spear heads, and beads.[1]

The Bushmen of the Okavango swamps, again, trade ostrich egg-shell beads, ivory, ostrich feathers, skins and horns with the inter-dwelling Bantu in return for tobacco and dagga, as well as iron and such iron goods as spear heads, hoes, and knives; while the Namib Bushmen exchange similar objects with Hottentots and Europeans for blankets, knives, tobacco, and coffee.[2]

438 Among the North-Western tribes there is a whole system of trade relations between different tribes, extending from the Okavango in the north down almost to the Molopo.[3] In this the Naron and the Auen play the part of intermediaries, obtaining from the tribes further north the objects they desire, and then bartering them again further south as occasion arises. Egg-shell beads and tobacco are standard [436] articles in this trade, in the sense that they can always be bartered and may even be said to have a fixed value. From the Naron the Auen 438 procure skin garments and bags, for the making of which the former 439 are famous, giving them in return wooden pots, dishes, and spoons

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 52–3; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 108.
[2] Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland," 701; *idem*, *Die Buschmänner*, 118–19; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.
[3] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, loc. cit.; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 152–3; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 37–8.

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a[illegible]make the heavens the theatre of numberless poetically-conceived histories"—in which, as the texts obtained by him show, Bushman mythology is extremely rich.[1]

The selections so far published from these texts are too few to enable us to determine anything more about the nature of the worship directed to these heavenly bodies, and especially about the ceremonies associated with them; but that such worship did actually exist is evident from the facts recorded above.

There is no mention of similar prayers among the Namib Bushmen, but then no information at all is available about their ideas relating to the heavenly bodies. Among the tribes further north we again meet with moon worship. Both Naron and Auen still worship the Moon. They regard it as an old man, the Sun as a young girl, who is his wife. First the Moon pursues the Sun across the sky, later the Sun follows the Moon. They go down to their houses below the horizon in the west, then fly back at night across the earth to their houses in the east. They can be heard passing, but are not seen. The New Moon, when it appears, is invoked by the magicians, two of whom, man and woman, sit on the ground together, holding their hands out palms upward towards it, and say: "Give us rain that we may live." This worship of the Moon has penetrated into modern ideas also, for most of the people think that since the Moon is in the sky and the God (*!khuba*) the white men and Nama speak of is also in the sky, therefore God is the Moon. Their ancestors used also to pray to certain stars, particularly the morning star and the Southern Cross; but these prayers, says Miss Bleek, are memories of long ago, whereas the moon worship is continued to-day by young as well as old.[2]

A prayer to the New Moon for food, given in the eighties of last century by a Kung youth from near Lake Ngami, is also recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd[3]; but according to Lebzelter there is nowadays no trace at all among the Kung of either sun or moon worship. The sun is regarded as a woman, the moon as a man, who originally lived upon earth and were carried about on the shoulders of people; but the latter became tired of their burdens

[1] Bleek, "Resemblances in Bushman and Australian Mythology," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, Feb., 1874, 101–2; *idem*, *Bushman Texts*, 10–12, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 8, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 72–99 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Folklore," 304, 307.

[2] *Naron*, 26–7.

[3] *Bushman Folklore*, 414–15.

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or other worship directed to these bodies.[1] How far the absence of moon worship must be attributed to the fact that these Bushmen have long been exposed to Bantu influence is difficult to say. In view of the comparative evidence afforded by the other Bushman tribes, however, as well as the fact that the Hiechware have certainly been considerably influenced by the BeChwana, this seems the most reasonable suggestion; although, as already noted, Dornan cannot be regarded as a fully reliable authority.

The evidence on the whole shows quite definitely that worship of the heavenly bodies, and especially of the Moon, exists among the Bushmen. In all the instances noted, the New Moon is prayed to; in the case of the Cape Bushmen for food, although the details of the ceremony are not available, while among the Naron, Auen, and !O Kung there is a special ceremony at which it is invoked for rain. There is nothing to suggest that the Moon is conceived of as a supreme deity, or that it forms the object of an elaborate cult. At the same time the prayers and ceremonies noted clearly constitute an act of worship. They must therefore be regarded as part of the Bushman religion. The prayers and usages relating to the sun and the stars among the Cape Bushmen suggest a wider sidereal worship, which the scanty details from the Northern tribes would seem to bear out; but the worship of the Moon seems to be by far the most prominent.

Supernatural Beings

In other aspects of religion and mythology there appears to be a good deal of variation in details among the different Bushmen tribes. The most prominent figure in the mythology of the Cape Bushmen is the Mantis, round whom a whole cycle of myths has been formed. Besides his own proper name, */kaggen*, he possesses several others, as does also his wife, whose most usual name, however, is */huntu!katt!katten*, the Dassie or Rock Rabbit (*Hyrax capensis*). They have three children, a daughter, of whom there is no further mention; a son, */gaunu-ts'axau* (*/gaunu* is the name of a certain star, and *ts'axau* means "eye"), who in one of the tales is killed by baboons, and restored to life again by the Mantis; and another son, */kaggen-⊙pwa*, the young Mantis, who also figures in one of the tales, where his likeness to his father is commented upon. Besides his own children the Mantis has an adopted daughter, */xo*, the Porcupine.

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 163.

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Ko (Ngo), 35

776 we have already seen, comes sometimes to the people while they are [787] dancing, and informs them where game is to be procured; while [224] if she breathes upon a man's arm this makes him shoot better.[1]

From these accounts we may gather that the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen is regarded as the creator of all things, and is [782] especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food, for success in hunting, etc. He is also linked up with certain dances in some way connected with [756] initiation, although, from the description given by Orpen's informant, [791] it is probable that the "initiated" men referred to are the magicians, who are also the physicians in all Bushman tribes. The tales recorded [773] by Orpen show that the Mantis here has much the same mythological character as among the Cape Bushmen. The latter, however, do [184] not pray to him, although by them also he is said to have creative powers and to have made certain game animals which are under his special protection.

Further north there are no particular beliefs about the Mantis. 184 Some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami, however, repeated to 776 Miss Lloyd several tales about */xwe*, a little personage not identified with any animal, who plays tricks and transforms himself into a variety of things. */xwe* also has some dealings with the Moon and the Hare, outstanding figures of Bushman lore. He seems to have much in common with the Mantis, but there is no further mention of him in the other branches of the Kung or in any of the other North-Western tribes.[2]

776 The Naron and Auen at Sandfontein spoke to Miss Bleek about *Hishe* or *Hiyesha*, a supernatural being who lived in the east, and who, as we have already seen, appears in various guises at the boys' [88] puberty ceremonies. He is regarded as the protector of the game and hunting; he once, when the trees and animals were people, bade them assume their present forms; he also instituted marriage and the mode of life of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Europeans. [756] From a casual reference by Miss Bleek it further appears that the magicians "worked" with Hishe, but unfortunately she throws [114] no light at all upon the meaning of this statement.

From the Hottentots these people were beginning to borrow the 177 idea of */khuba* or */xuba* (cf. Campbell's "Goba"). This is the 776

[1] Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 32–3; Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage*, etc., 301, 305–6; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *passim*.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 404–13.

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Nama word for "master, lord", and has been used by some missionaries for "God". The Naron and Auen were vague as to the nature of */khuba*. The old men did not know of him; the middle-aged men said *Hishe* was */khuba*; while some of the younger people said he was the sky, others that he dwelt in the sky; they prayed to him to let them live long and to make them well when ill. Women who when young had been kidnapped and held as slaves by Nama chiefs were very fluent on the subject of */khuba*; the others, remarks Miss Bleek, had evidently picked up the word without attaching any clear meaning to it, beyond that it was some sort of deity and that it was "good to pray to it". The same word (given by him in its vocative form */khutse*) was also found among the partly-disorganized groups of these Bushmen by Fourie, who translates it "God".

A few of Miss Bleek's informants further mentioned *Huwu* or *Huwuba*, but they did not know much about him—he was the "captain" of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the "captain" of the white people.[1]

Huwu or *Hu'e* figures very prominently among the Kung, however. Miss Lloyd's young informants from near Lake Ngami only once mentioned him. They began the tale of the Moon and the Hare with the words, *Huwe* made all things; and in explanation said, *Huwe* made all things to eat (i.e. all animals that are eaten), and *Huwe* is a man.[2] Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, much further west, speaks of *Huwe* as a "good being", to whom the people attribute the creation and maintenance of all things. They pray to him for food, as we have already seen, at a special ceremony held once a year when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen, and they also in case of sickness call upon him to restore them to health.[3]

Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *//Khu*)[4] or *Xuwa*,

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 24–6; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.
[3] "Grammatik der !Kŭ-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.
[4] It may be mentioned here that Lebzelter is inconsistent in the orthography he employs: */Kui* is elsewhere written *//Khui*, *//gaua* alternates with */gaua*, *gagoro* with */gau /goro*, and so on.

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everywhere he is regarded as the creator of all things, including mankind, and he sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, in sickness, before and after hunting, and before travel, and by the group at Uukualuthi he is also given the first-offerings of the chase, as among the Kung of the Oschimpoloveld. Almost everywhere he has neither wife nor children; it is only among the Eastern Kung that mention is made of these. He is regarded everywhere as benevolent and good, but appears to have no connection with the moral life of the people.[1]

The !O Kung in Angola did not mention *Erob* or *Xuwa*, but spoke again of *Huwe*. Here, as we have seen, *Huwe* occasionally appears at the boys' puberty ceremonies and dances with the initiates, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double guise as man and woman. In the prayer to the New Moon his name may also be substituted for *//nwa-se*, but apart from this substitution there is no evidence of worship directed towards him. He is further said to appear to people in dreams.[2] Of the attributes found by Lebzelter for the "supreme being" among the Kung and the Heikum no mention at all is made by Miss Bleek.

Huwe appears again among the Bushmen of the Eastern Kalahari. They believe, according to Dornan, in a spirit which they variously call *Dꝛimo*, *Thora*, and *Huwe*. *Dꝛimo* is a corruption of the Chwana word *Modimo*, nowadays generally rendered "God", and is, says Dornan, "largely used by the tame Bushmen with the same signification." *Thora* and *Huwe* are the regular Bushman words. *Huwe* is here spoken of as the good spirit who wards off disease, gives plenty, and protects the Bushmen from danger. When any danger threatens, they will call upon him; Dornan mentions having once heard some Bushmen of the Sansokwe River sing over and over again the words *Huwe ka hume ie ie*, *Huwe* come to our aid ie ie. More often, however, they speak of *Thora*. They say he made all things, but they are not sure where he dwells, or if he is a person. According to Dornan they look upon him as the Great One, who is over all things, who sends rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting. They often use *Thora* to ensure success in hunting; when, e.g. they have killed an animal they will praise him for bringing it under their arrows. This statement Dornan seems to have derived

[1] Lebzelter, op. cit., 410–13; cf. Schmidt, "Die alten Buschmann-Religion," 197, summarizing Lebzelter's data.

[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 14; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122, 123.

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First there is their chief or headman, simply termed *//gauab* by ordinary people, but whose real name, known to and uttered only by the magicians, is */nawa*. "Probably," suggests Lebzelter, "we have to do here with the high god of another religion, and */nawa* is to be identified with *//nwa-se*, the New Moon of the Angola Kung." */nawa* or *//gauab* does good as well as evil. He is prayed to for success in the chase, assists the hunters in their efforts, and receives the first-offerings of any game taken; he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. One informant, who had been baptized, spoke of him as the "devil" who had made the Kung; others, old magicians, credited him with giving rise to the existence and present mode of life of men and animals. He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.

The second group of spirits are the *//gauab* who stand at the service of the "great captain". As a rule they lie around their hearth-fires in the sky, the stars, and only come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead (*xa*) and bring them to *Xu*. The third group comprises the "small" *//gauab*, the ghosts of the dead, whose home is the grave but who roam about everywhere and are injurious to mankind; the fourth are the particularly malicious little spirits dwelling in the water; and finally there is the whole horde of the spirits of disease, the *dsao*, small yellow mannikins with thick bellies, who at the command of any of the other spirits enter into people and thus make them ill. It is the function of the magicians to remove them from the body of the patient.[1]

The Western Kung of the Oschimpoloveld have no such elaborate world of spirits. Mention is made only of the */gagorob* or */gau/gorob*, small spirits who roam about in the bush and do nothing but play practical jokes on people. "They are not the spirits of the dead," says Lebzelter, "and cannot therefore be compared with the *//gauab*."[2]

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan we meet again with *//gauab*, or, as the name is here rendered, */gamab*. Owing to Christian influence */gamab* is now spoken of as "the devil", but Lebzelter regards this being as a "demiurge", whom he equates with */nawa* or the principal *//gauab* of the Eastern Kung, and with */gamab* of the Bergdama and Nama. */gamab* is said by the Heikum to have created mankind and the world; the souls of the dead (*darish*) come to live with him,

[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der /'Khun-Buschmänner," 407–10; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13.
[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 412.

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184 776 Bushmen of the Orange Free State, where, as we have seen, Campbell [192] mentions that the spirits attendant upon *Ko* (the Mantis) are called *Gauna*, and that after *Ko* has disappeared from the dance in which she was taking part, "her nymphs" also come and dance for a while. Nothing more is said about them, however.[1]

114 776 The problem now arises as to the real nature of these beings. The information relating to them is sometimes vague, sometimes inconsistent, and at all times obviously inadequate. No interpretation of their nature can therefore be regarded as fully reliable until it has been confirmed by a much more careful and detailed study in the field than has yet been made of the beliefs and usages connected with them. Moreover, as we shall see subsequently, the conception 171 of *//gaua* also figures prominently among the Hottentots and 776 Bergdama, whose religious beliefs and practices in general offer other features of resemblance to those of the Bushmen. A comparison of the Bushman concepts on the one hand and those of the Hottentots and Bergdama on the other, may thus succeed in throwing further light upon the problem, the final consideration of which may therefore be delayed until the religions of these peoples have also been passed in review.

177 776 Certain points arise, however, which may at once be dealt with. The notions of */khuba* among the Naron and Auen, and of *Dtimo* among the Hiechware, may be set aside in the attempt to ascertain the real nature of Bushman religious conceptions. They have admittedly been taken over from other peoples, the former from the Nama, the latter from the BeChwana. *Erob*, mentioned by Lebzelter [797] as the name for the "Supreme Being" among the Western Kung and certain of the Heikum, is simply a corruption of the word *Elob*, from the Hebrew *Elohim*, which has been used by many missionaries among the Nama as a translation for "God".[2] Its occurrence among these Bushmen is therefore an obvious indication of Christian influence, entering either directly through the missionaries or, more probably, through contact with the Nama; and in this connection it must be remembered that almost all the Heikum now speak only

[1] *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 31–2.

[2] Pater Schmidt, in accepting Lebzelter's data as convincing evidence for the existence of a Supreme Being among the Bushmen, remarks about *Erob* ("Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 397, n. 4): "Wenn er christlichen Ursprungs sein soll, von Elob, aus Elohim, so darf man fragen, warum das Inlaut -l in *r* übergegangen wäre." To this it may be replied that the sound *l* does not occur at all in Nama, save in a few words taken over from European languages, and that in most borrowed words where it does occur the Nama form of the word replaces it by *r*. The transmutation of *Elob* into *Erob* therefore follows a definite law of phonetic change in Nama. Cf. on this point Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, pp. 18–19.

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Nama. Nama influence is seen also in the word *Heiseb* found among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga. This is one of the names applied to the mythical hero more commonly known as *Heitsi Eibib*, who figures so prominently in the religious system of the Nama. Its absence from the other Bushman tribes is clearly suggestive, although the name *Hishe* found among the Naron and Auen may possibly be a corruption of it. The various current interpretations of *//gaua* as "the evil being", "the devil" or "Satan" must likewise be dismissed as alien to native Bushman ideas. The word has been widely used by missionaries among the Nama for "Devil", and there can be little doubt that it is ultimately from this source that such interpretations have been derived.

All these direct symptoms of borrowing from other peoples show clearly that the religious conceptions of the Northern Bushmen as recorded above can by no means be regarded as untainted by foreign influences. The final interpretation of these conceptions will therefore have to take into account the religious ideas of the neighbouring peoples as well, especially of the Nama, in order that a full basis for discussion may be obtained. This is all the more necessary since the information relating to them as now held by the Bushmen is hardly sufficient to enable us to determine satisfactorily the full meaning attached to them by the people, to determine, that is, what part they really play in native life. For the moment, however, it may be of service if we attempt to reduce to some order the various accounts given by our authorities of these conceptions.

A general survey of the attributes said to be vested in the different beings figuring in the religion and mythology of the Northern Bushmen seems to show that on the whole we have to deal with two main conceptions. There is in the first place the conception known variously to the North-Western Bushmen as *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Xuwa*, *Hishe*, or *Erob*, and to the North-Eastern Bushmen as *Thora* or *Huwe*. By Lebzelter, whose account cannot be entirely freed from a suspicion of prejudice in favour of the monotheistic doctrine associated with the name of Pater W. Schmidt and his school of disciples, *Xu* or *Erob* is spoken of as an anthropomorphic "supreme good being" dwelling in a house in the sky, where he receives the souls of the dead. He is regarded as the creator; he controls the rain and its associated phenomena of thunder and lightning, and punishes evil-doers with lightning; he sends good fortune in hunting and in the collection of veldkos, is prayed to before and after hunting, and is

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borders of the Desert, but are unknown to the Cape Bushmen and those of Griqualand West. Dornan maintains that they are original elements in the culture of the Bushmen, from whom they have been taken over by the Bantu. All the evidence, however, points in the other direction, for among the Bantu the use of divining bones of several different types is not only widespread, but also developed into an elaborate system of interpretation, while the way the Bushmen handle them shows that they do not know much about them. Moreover, it is found that the frequency of their use by the Bushmen coincides with the extent to which any tribe has been exposed to Bantu influence.[1]

Other minor beliefs and practices of the Bushmen are mentioned by writers on particular tribes, but consideration of them must be omitted in a general survey such as this. It may be noted, however, that among the Northern tribes amulets are often worn to ward off disease and other evils, while among all the Bushmen charms of various kinds are also carried to ensure good luck. Bad dreams are also regarded as evil omens, and precautions taken to counteract them. Among the Cape Bushmen, for instance, when a woman had had a bad dream, she banished it by plunging a stone into the fire, at the same time saying a spell. If she neglected to do this, the dream would accompany her when she went out to seek ants' larvae and prevent her from finding any. The Naron, in the same way, when they have had bad dreams put a bit of burning charcoal on the ground and pour water on it, then the bad dream flies away with the steam. Or, when a man is ill and *Hishe* sends bad dreams, he takes a stick after the sun has arisen, plants it in the ground between his knees, burns *buchu* and snuffs it, and recovers.[2]

[1] Werner, "Heikum und Kungbuschleute," 256; Kaufmann, "Auin," 159. Dornan, "Divination and Divining Bones," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, XX, 505–7; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 155–8; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28–9; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies*, 10–11.

[2] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 365; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 29.

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524 and pretend to dip it out. The 'snake' from time to time flicks
857 sand at them with his finger, he is supposed to be squirting water. The others start back and scream, then gather once more round the 'pool'. At last the 'snake' jumps up, seizes a victim and pretends to swallow it, which ends the game."[1]

533 Some of the children's games, as in the one just described, have songs or refrains attached to them, in which the words are occasionally
[535] obsolete. All the dances are also accompanied by singing, many of them having their own special tune, but here the tunes are often sung without words. Other songs, again, go with the playing of musical instruments. The tunes are as a rule very short, and are generally repeated over and over again without variation, so that the effect is rather monotonous. "All Bushmen sing," says Miss Bleek,[2] "but their tunes are not easy for a European to distinguish, much less to write down." And, referring to the dance tunes,
[535] she adds: "The time is perfect, but no two in a chorus seem to hit the same note, though the general burden of the tune is kept up. That is to say, they all go up together, but not from or to the same note, and they all go down together, each hitting any note they please."

534 Musical instruments are seldom used to accompany the dances, although several different kinds are found.[3] Many of them are variations of the musical bow. The best known of these, the */goura*, was the favourite instrument in the south. It consists in an ordinary bow, in which one end of the string, instead of being fastened to the stave itself, is attached to a flexible piece of quill spliced to the end of the stave. This quill is held against the lips, and made to vibrate by strong expirations and inspirations of the breath, thus producing the effect of a stringed wind instrument. Another form of the musical bow, commonly known as the */gubo*, has a gourd or tortoise-shell attached to the stave of the bow so as to serve as a sounding-box. The instrument is played by picking at the string with a small piece of wood or bone. A development of this sometimes seen consists in playing it like a primitive sort of violin, with a small bow for sounding the string. This mode of playing was probably adopted
[177] from a European source, as the use of a bow after the manner of a

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 19. [2] Op. cit., 22.
[3] Stow, op. cit., 102–11; Passarge, op. cit., 95–8; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," 111–13; Kaufmann, op. cit., 150–1; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 21–2; Balfour, "The Goura—A Stringed Wind Musical Instrument of the Bushmen and Hottentots," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxii (1902), 156–76.

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violin bow is not characteristic of South African native music, 534
although it is well known further north. Neither the */goura* nor the [177]
/gubo is very common among the Northern Bushmen, where the principal and in some cases the only form of musical bow is the hunting bow itself. One end of this is held between the teeth by the performer, who picks on the string with a small piece of wood or bone, varying the pitch by running his fingers up and down the string. Stow describes and figures other forms of the musical bow found among the Southern Bushmen, all of which have been developed out of the simple form.

Among other musical instruments, found principally among the [184]
Southern tribes, was a kind of reed flute or pipe, used with certain of the dances. These pipes were made of reeds cut to different sizes and lengths, so as to obtain a variety of notes. They were played by several performers at the same time, each with a distinct note to his pipe, and the effect lay in harmonizing the different notes. The "rommel pot", */koa*, was also sometimes used to accompany the dance. This was a drum or tambour made by stretching a piece of skin tightly over the mouth of a clay pot, a wooden calabash or a big tortoise-shell. The "ramakib", a sort of guitar made out of a hollowed piece of wood with a calabash or rough touch-board attached to one end, over which are drawn several strings, was, like the musical bow, used by soloists, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanying songs, but never with dances. There do not seem to be any professional musicians, although, as Kaufmann remarks, one does in fact find people who obviously take greater delight in music than others, and these are naturally the usual performers.

Decorative and Pictorial Art

Decorative art among the Bushmen is limited mainly to seriated 531
incisions of crude pattern found on the pottery of the Cape Bushmen, and to simple chevron patterns incised by the North-Western tribes upon the ostrich egg-shells used for storing water and upon their stone and bone pipes. Skin bags ornamented with similar patterns are also known, as well as wooden utensils and sticks decorated with line designs produced by burning. This form of art is as a whole very poorly developed, and of little intrinsic merit. It is not often met with.[1]

[1] Gretschel, op. cit., *passim*; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 672–3; Peringuey, *The Stone Ages of S. Africa*, chap. xiv; von Luschan, "Buschmann-Einritzungen auf Strausseiern," *Z. Ethn.*, lv, 31–40.

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Knowledge of Disease and Doctoring

164 The Bushmen in their own environment and leading their own mode of life seem on the whole to be a healthy and hardy people. Those communities in the north which have not been much in contact with civilization are said to be remarkably free from infectious, contagious, and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons, when malaria becomes unduly prevalent, the incidence of disease is very small amongst them. Malaria, however, carries off many victims, for the Bushmen do not seem able to withstand it better than other peoples. Kaufmann, as we have seen, records that in 1909 the mortality caused by it was especially high, whole villages dying out, so that the numbers of the Auen were reduced to less than half. Seiner, another trustworthy observer, states that [114] among the Kung fully 20 per cent of the deaths that occur, especially of children, may be attributed to it; and it is officially recorded that in the years 1917, 1923, and 1925 "large numbers" of Bushmen died from it along the north-eastern and eastern borders of South-West Africa. Smallpox, typhoid, dysentery, and phthisis are also mentioned as occurring in these parts, the latter being promoted by [276] excessive indulgence in tobacco and dagga smoking. Where contact [177] with other peoples is frequent, syphilis is often found, as well as measles, influenza, whooping-cough, scarlet fever, and other European diseases. European clothing and dwellings have a bad effect upon the Bushmen. They are particularly susceptible to pulmonary affections when removed from their natural surroundings, and a considerable number of those who have suffered from bronchitis, pneumonia, etc., subsequently succumb to tuberculosis. When [648] imprisoned, as many of them are in South-West Africa for cattle stealing or breaking the game laws, they rapidly decline in strength and die in great numbers, however kindly treated by the gaol authorities.[1]

753 Sickness in most instances is attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on the part of the person affected, to evil magic exercised against him by other persons, to the malicious interference of the ghosts of dead people who send the "spirits of disease" into 000 the patient's body, or to some similar supernatural cause. Treatment

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 136, 139; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 293; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 140–4; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 29–30; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 91; *Official Year Book of S.A.*, No. 8, pp. 983–6 *passim*.

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eland, Castor and Pollux his wives; the Magellanic Clouds a steenbok; Orion's sword three male tortoises hung upon a stick, his belt three female tortoises so hung, etc. As these names indicate, there is a good deal of folklore centring in the stars, and indeed a considerable part of the vast collections of Cape Bushman lore made by Bleek and Lloyd relate to the heavenly bodies, which are regarded as once having been men or animals before being transformed into their present state. In one tale, for instance, it is related that a girl of the early race (preceding the Bushmen) wished for a little light, so that the people might see to return home by night. She therefore threw wood-ashes into the sky and these became the Milky Way. In another, again, it is told how a girl, at the time of her puberty seclusion, saw some people eating together at a dassie's house of branches. As a result they and the house, fixed by her looks, became stars in the sky, where they are now to be seen as the Corona Australis.[1]

The Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, according to Dornan, also "have considerable acquaintance with various groups or prominent stars, and have names for them", but the only one mentioned by him is the Southern Cross, referred to as the "giraffe star" and said to be somewhat like this animal in appearance.[2]

For shorter lengths of time the Bushmen go by the Moon, but they make no attempt to reckon how many moons there are in the year or in a season.[3] They observe the phases of the Moon closely, but seem to have no division of time into anything corresponding to weeks, although they readily pick up the European system of weeks when working for white people, and will come regularly on the seventh day for tobacco, etc. Otherwise, in their intercourse with white people, the wage, if not given daily, is demanded at the New Moon.[4]

The day is apparently divided according to the position of the sun, but no names have been recorded for any fixed divisions or parts of the day.

The notion of time is also used to indicate distance, for which there are no special units. Generally distance is reckoned by the time it

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 10 sq.
[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 165.
[3] Lebzelter says, however ("Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 15) that the Eastern Kung have a "vegetation year" of 10 months. The year is reckoned from one veldkos harvest to another. He omits to give any further details.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, loc. cit.; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.

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804 805 823 takes to reach the place. If, for instance, a Bushman is asked how far a certain waterhole is, he points to the part of the sky which the sun will have reached by the time one gets to that waterhole; or, if it is far, he says: "One night on the way," or "two", etc.; or, again, if asked the length of a journey, he will name the places at which he slept or will sleep, touching a finger to his lips for each, then hold up the fingers, saying: "So many nights" (not days).[1]

802 177 In counting, they use only the numerals one and two quite freely. Three they sometimes use, taking the Nama word for it, although they are more apt to speak of "two and one" than "three". For anything above three they generally make use of the word "many", although by the Northern Bushmen Nama or Bantu numerals may sometimes by substituted. These higher numerals, however, are evidently picked up from their neighbours by ear, and repeated without much consideration of their value, as, says Miss Bleek, a child of three will count in imitation of its seniors, varying the sequence of numerals each time. In some cases, among both the Cape 802 Bushmen and several of the North-Western tribes, such formations [803] are also found as 4 = 2 + 2, 5 = 2 + 2 + 1, and so on up to ten. The numeral system of the Bushmen is thus essentially binary in principle. Occasionally, however, modifications occur suggestive of a quinary system. Thus in Naron the words for "four" mean "two fingers and two fingers", but "five" is "hand" (sometimes, however 2 + 2 + 1 fingers), "ten" is "both hands", "fifteen" "both hands, one foot"; and the same system occurs in Auen. As these words indicate, the Bushmen count larger numbers on their fingers. In counting, they begin with the little finger of the left hand, touching each finger in turn on the lips, then continue in the same manner from the thumb of the right hand. As a rule, it may be added, nothing that they want to count exceeds ten, indeed, hardly ever reaches that numeral !²

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 38; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.

[2] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; cf. Schmidl, "Zahl und Zählen in Afrika," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, xlv (1915), pp. 194–5, for a useful summary sketch of Bushman numeral systems.

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abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. *Tsui //Goab* appears to be essentially the personification of the natural forces producing the rain, and as the rain god he is the object of a special cult. In all this he resembles closely the being variously known as *Huwe*, *Hishe*, *Erob* or *Thora* by the Northern Bushmen, and as *Cagn*, the Mantis, by the Bushmen of Basutoland. *Huwe*, too, is the creator, he controls the rain, thunder, and lightning, he is the source of abundance and of good luck in hunting, the protector of his people from illness and danger, and to him are directed the ceremonies and prayers for rain, food, recovery from illness, etc.

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But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama. Among this people we meet with the conception of *//Gamab*, whose name Vedder derives from the root *//gami*, "water," and whom he regards as "originally the god of the rising clouds and of thunder and fountains". *//Gamab* is the only supernatural being of whom the Bergdama speak. He is the source of life and death, abundance of food, etc., and he lives in "heaven" in a village where he gathers about him the souls of the departed. The Bergdama trace out in great detail the movements of the soul from the moment of death till its arrival in *//Gamab's* village, and the life led there is minutely described.[1] In view of the fact that this particular series of beliefs and its associated rites appear to be the central feature of Bergdama religion, are entirely absent from the Hottentots, and occur in a much-attenuated form only among certain North-Western Bushman tribes who have been much in contact with the Bergdama, one feels justified in assuming that the connection of *Huwe* with a "sky dwelling" to which go the souls of the deceased can be definitely attributed to Bergdama influence.

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Among the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also figures in the boys' puberty ceremonies, whereas among the Hottentots neither *Tsui //Goab* nor any other supernatural being is in any way connected with these ceremonies. Here we have an important distinction, and one which must further be correlated with the fact that the Southern Bushmen do not appear to have any puberty ceremonies at all for

[1] Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, i, 97 sqq.; *idem*, "The Berg Damara," 61 sqq.